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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE.

I.—ON HALICARNASSUS.

BY COMMANDER T. SPRATT, R.N.

The following remarks are offered as an explanation of the Plan of Halicarnassus, and to communicate facts resulting from an investigation of that locality, in accordance with instructions forwarded by the Hydrographer Royal, Sir F. Beaufort, to Captain Graves, of H.M.S. vessel 'Volage,' "to take advantage of some favourable opportunity for visiting and making a careful examination of the ruins of Halicarnassus, with the view of setting at rest, if possible, the disputed position of the Mausoleum, now of much interest to the British public, by the recent acquisition of the Boodroum marbles;" which instructions I was directed by Captain Graves to carry out when H. M. S. 'Volage,' and her tender the 'Research,' which I then commanded, anchored there for that purpose in September, 1847.

As I was furnished by Mr. Newton with extracts from a paper on the 'Sculptures of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus,'[1] which he was then preparing for

[1] Since published in the Classical Museum, Part xvi.

publication, the pleasure of the investigation was thus greatly heightened and facilitated by a full exposition of the several authors who had described this masterpiece of ancient art, the glory of the city in which it stood. Of these writers, the description of Vitruvius is fortunately more copious than we generally possess of ancient cities, and, when rightly viewed, leads to a perfect recognition of almost every object of interest referred to.

Pliny[1] likewise has given a full account of the monument itself, and the names of the four celebrated artists of antiquity—Bryaxis, Timotheus, Leochares, and Scopas,—who were employed by Artemisia to adorn it.

That my explanations may be better understood, it may be as well, first, to cite the description of Vitruvius. His words are, "Mausolus perceiving that Halicarnassus was a place naturally fortified, favourable for trade, and with a convenient harbour, made it his royal residence. As the form of the site was curved like a theatre, on the lowest ground, near the port, was placed the forum: along the curve, about half-way up its height, was made a broad street,—as it were a præcinctio. In the centre of this street stood the Mausoleum, constructed with such marvellous works, that it is considered one of the seven wonders of the world. In the centre of the citadel, or fortified heights above, was the Temple of Mars, containing a colossal statue, of the kind called *ἀκρόλιθοι*, made by the illustrious hand of Leochares, or, according to others, of Timotheus. On the summit of the right-hand extremity of the curve was the Temple of Venus

[1] Nat. Hist. xxxvi. c. 5, s. 4.

and Mercury, close to the fountain Salmacis (*ad ipsum Salmacidis fontem*). In like manner, as on the right hand was the Temple of Venus and Mercury and the above-named fountain, so on the left horn, or extremity of the curve, stood the royal palace, which King Mausolus placed so as to suit his own designs; for from it can be seen, on the right hand, the forum, the harbour, and the whole circuit of the walls; on the left, a secret port, so concealed under the mountains that no one could spy or ascertain what was going on there, while the king, from his own palace, might, without the knowledge of any one, direct all that was necessary for his fleet and army."

After carefully perusing this description of Vitruvius, I was led to conclude that as this eminent architect had compared the city to an object the form of which, or rather the right and left extremities of which, were as recognizable as the right and left arm of a man, the right and left horns of the city were consequently clearly defined.

It happens that a theatre, in tolerable preservation, still stands upon the site, and fronting the same point as the entire city did, and thus becomes a miniature representation of the form of the city. The arena within the right and left horns of the theatre represent the large harbour embraced by the right and left extremes of the city; the former consequently being the west, and the latter the east horn of the curve.

Halicarnassus occupied a beautiful position at the head of a small bay, but is hid from distant view by a long point of land on the west, and by the island of Ovak on the south. The beauty and advantages of

the position chosen by King Mausolus for his capital are therefore not seen until the basin within the island is entered, when a goodly fortress of the Knights of Rhodes presents itself to view, standing on the shore at the upper end of the bay, in bold relief against a theatre of hills lying close at the back. Between the foot of the hills and the fortress intervenes a narrow strip of land, covered with olive, vine, and fig trees, among which are interspersed many flat-roofed cottages. This luxuriant patch of cultivated ground pretty nearly defines the extent and limits of the ancient city, as the mountain's sides above it produce only a stunted vegetation on its limestone surface, and afford merely a browsing pasture for the flocks of the Turkoman.

The bay is formed on the west by a rugged sterile promontory composed of volcanic ejections, peperino and trachyte, and does not exceed 300 feet in height. This ridge is almost cut off from the main chain, being connected with it only by a low neck of rising ground, springing from the base of a conspicuous conical hill that rises in the north-west angle of the city, on the sides and summit of which are visible the walls, a theatre, and numerous rock-tombs cut into the dark tufaceous deposits or trachyte precipices, this cone being also composed of volcanic matter, whilst the higher ridges immediately behind it, and forming the back screen of Halicarnassus, are of nummulite limestone, uplifted and greatly disturbed by these eruptions.

I commenced my examination of the city by seeking for the secret port, at the isthmus, upon which the town of Boodroum in part stands. This I considered

to be the left horn of the city; for, as all travellers who have examined it agree in supposing that the low land, which now joins the rock upon which the castle of St. Peter stands, is an accumulation of soil since the days of Alexander,[1] I had hoped to find there some vestiges of the port, and was attempting to land a little to the north of the proper landing-place for this purpose, when my boat unexpectedly grounded upon a sunken mole: this was evidently one of the piers of the secret harbour, which cut off the north-east angle of the larger harbour. As the Sultan's Firman granting the removal of the marbles from the long sacred fortress of St. Peter had removed all jealousy in respect to sounding and surveying within its vicinity, I was enabled to ascertain that there were still 6 feet of water within the sunken pier; so that we have now the secret dock or port of Mausolus almost of its original depth and dimensions, the east and north shores having encroached but a few yards only. The entrance, however, is choked by the scattered fragments of the pier, and the eastern part is shallowed by sand and silt.

The secret port being thus discovered, I make no question of the identity, although the description of it by Vitruvius, "secretus sub montibus latens portus," is inaccurate, as the mountains are at some distance from the shore.

The harbour is surrounded by a high modern wall, upon the top of which is led the water supplying the town and fortress. At the north-east angle of the port is a doorway leading under the aqueduct to a road running through the gardens on the plain. The

[1] Beaufort's 'Caramania,' p. 99.

first 200 yards of this road divides a Turkish burying-ground, raised 4 or 5 feet above it, and shaded by a grove of large trees: a confusion of architectural fragments lies scattered over the burying-ground, and masses of masonry indicate that on the spot once stood a solid and substantial building, but not constructed with square blocks in the Hellenic style. The elevation of the ground seems to be caused in great part by the accumulation of rubbish and fragments, many of which, no doubt, were brought here from other places. Amongst them are several short, double pilasters of the Doric order, which belonged to some ornamented edifice, apparently not a temple, the pilasters being about the height of a doorway between the apartments of a dwelling. I am induced to offer the conjecture, that in these fragments we see remains of the palace of Mausolus, as the situation accords with its position in respect to the secret port and extremity of the city.

Proceeding through the eastern burying-ground, I came suddenly to the foot of a rocky eminence, which is in part built over by the Greek town of Boodroum, and which the large trees had wholly concealed from view from the sea or harbour. By measurement, this eminence was found to be about 35 feet above the sea. I observed that it extends as far as the extremity of the west pier of the secret port, thus screening it from view on that side.

Having next examined the east side of the isthmus and hill, I discovered no remains *in situ* but the foundations of a massive Cyclopean wall on the shore of the bay. The church of St. Nikolo and several houses

are built upon a part of it, and it evidently ascended the eminence, and formed the termination of the eastern horn of the city: apparently it never extended beyond the secret port. This in a great measure confirms the opinion that the rock upon which the castle of St. Peter stands was never joined to the city, but that it was an island in the time of Mausolus, who no doubt erected upon it a fortress to protect his harbour, the better to hide the entrance to his secret basin, immediately behind it. The strait which rendered it an island is now occupied by the dry ditch and glacis of the fortress, and was too shallow perhaps to admit a passage for vessels into either harbour, until Artemisia cut one through it, into the open sea,—"in apertum pelagus," as Vitruvius relates, —and thus surprised the hostile Rhodian fleet, whilst their crews were engaged at the agora by a feigned welcome on the part of the citizens. That it was a shallow channel we learn from Pliny,[1] who states that the Island of Zephyra had been joined to Halicarnassus by the action of the sea. The rock of St. Peter may not only be recognized as the Zephyra of Pliny, but also as the fortified island in which Alexander saw that the Persian soldiers had retreated, the morning after his conquest of the city.[2] That it was a fortified island there is full evidence upon the rock itself, the courses occupied by the foundations of the Hellenic fortress being visible on the southern and eastern edges of the rock, and exterior to the walls of the present building. No blocks indeed remain *in situ;* but the channel and step-like cuttings on the surface of the rock, made for the more perfect fitting of the lower

[1] Nat. Hist. ii. c. 89. [2] Arrian, Exp. Alex. i. 23.

course of squared stones, prove the position of the whole length and breadth of the eastern wall. This rock, as well as the eminence which screened the secret port, consists of nummulite limestone, separated from that of the mountains by the surrounding protrusions of volcanic matter.

The continuation of the eastern wall from the secret port and rocky eminence is shown by some loose blocks lying in a fig-garden, towards the torrent-bed, which, most probably, mark the line of the shore when the city was built. From the torrent-bed it turned towards the foot of the nearest hills, where, on the rising ground, near the east gate of the city, the walls are very distinct, and may be traced from thence, through the entire circuit, as far as the right 'corner,' terminating at the western pier of the great harbour.

I now directed my attention to the west horn of the city, with the express view of ascertaining whether any vestiges or features existed, which could in any manner favour the idea that the secret port and palace of Mausolus stood on that side of the harbour, as suggested by Mr. Newton and Mr. Donaldson, on account of the more mountainous character of that extremity of the curve, for the concealing of the secret port, which they imagine might be represented or discovered in the little bay under the wind-mills, on the west side of the promontory; in which case the palace of Mausolus would be found on the hill above the bay.

In company with Captain Graves, I made a most careful examination of this bay, and also of the promontory, but discovered no remains whatever, excepting a few rock-tombs excavated in a cliff on the side

of the hill; neither could any boat or galley have been transported on wheels or slides over the neck of the promontory, as conjectured by Mr. Donaldson in explanation of the stratagem of Artemisia to surprise the Rhodian fleet. The sides of the hill are too steep and rugged for such a scheme to have been practicable, even had the secret port existed on that side.

Having thus negatived this conjecture, I commenced tracing the walls of the city, from the arsenal point over the western pier of the harbour. A great part of the wall has been here demolished to its foundation for the erection of the fortified wall surrounding the arsenal, which is flanked with towers and loop-holed.

After crossing the small bay south of the arsenal, the city wall then followed a line of heights towards the west, the first of which is a commanding rock with a flattened summit, nearly 180 feet in height, and naturally fortified by precipices on three sides; but it appears to have been surrounded by walls also, which have been destroyed for the erection of a square tower at the north extremity of the hill, built by the Turks during the Greek revolution, to protect the arsenal.

This hill in every respect answers to the position and description of the fortress Salmacis, into which the second division of the Persians had retreated when the city was taken by Alexander, this fortified height and the island being the only two strongholds in which the soldiers could have maintained themselves for any time after the fall of the city. The identity of the fortress is, however, better established by the existence of a fountain in the bay south of it, which

may be recognized as the fountain Salmacis, from which the fortress doubtless derived its appellation. The hill is now called Kaplan Kalessy, or Tiger Fort, by the Turks.

There is, indeed, a fountain also on the opposite side of the bay and city, situated at the base of commanding eminences, one of which may be supposed to have been the site of the fortress Salmacis; but this fountain is of Turkish origin, and nothing more than the issue of a conduit, the source of which is a quarter of a mile further inland. Moreover, the fountain is dry during the summer months. The hill also is without any remains of fortifications: on the other hand, the fountain on the west side of the bay is a true source, and an excellent and permanent spring.

Following the course of the wall from the west side of Kaplan Kalessy, we arrive at a platform about midway up the height. A small Greek chapel stands in solitude upon it, cut off as it were from the Greek part of the population, who live entirely on the isthmus adjoining the castle. Although not a vestige remains to denote the situation of the Temple of Venus and Mercury, I think it may in all probability have stood here. The platform seems intended for some such building, and is "near to the fountain of Salmacis."

The entire circuit of the walls includes a length of 3 miles: in many parts they are still 10 or 12 feet in height, built of blocks of trachyte and limestone; the latter sometimes forming the exterior facing only. The style is generally the third Hellenic, with horizontal courses and diagonal divisions; but, as in most of the large Greek cities, the style is not uniform: a massive Cyclopean, sometimes 9 feet in thickness, is

intermixed with it, but occurs only where the approach was easy and least defensible. On account of the solidity of such walls, they are generally the most perfect portions now remaining. The walls surrounding the ancient city of Samos, and those of Halicarnassus, furnish perhaps two of the best examples of this intermixture of two styles to suit the nature of the ground over which they were carried.

Halicarnassus differed in one respect from the generality of ancient cities, in having no Acropolis; yet every summit over which the walls were carried was rendered a small fortress or keep by doubling round the eminence, but not entirely surrounding it, as will be seen in the Plan. This explains the ἄκραι mentioned by Arrian in his description of the siege of Halicarnassus by Alexander; that towards Mylasa being the north-eastern, that towards Miletus the north-western: the latter is a conical hill, in which was a cistern, and a square tower also. The low ground, exterior to the walls between these two heights, seems to be the spot which was chosen by the two soldiers for the settlement of their drunken squabble, ending in a sally from the city, and a hard conflict between besiegers and besieged.

The place where Alexander entered the city after battering down the walls is probably the low ground between the base of the theatre hill and the ridge forming the western promontory, being the side towards Myndus. The walls are here level with the ground, with the exception of three noble towers which have withstood both the siege and time: two of them seem to have guarded a wide entrance into the city. On a parallel ridge on the north-eastern

side of the city an outer line of ancient walls is to be traced, but the foundations only are visible.

Having traced the circuit of the city walls, my attention was next directed to the existing ruins within, and to a particular search for the site of the Mausoleum. Vitruvius says, "that as the form of the city was like that of a theatre, on the low ground, near the port, was placed the forum: along the curve, about half-way up its height, there was a broad street, —as it were a præcinctio. In the centre of this street stood the Mausoleum, constructed with such marvellous works, that it is considered one of the seven wonders of the world." Pliny enumerates the illustrious artists chosen by Queen Artemisia to ornament this monument, to whose labours it owed in great part its celebrity: he gives also some details of its proportions and dimensions, but unfortunately the subordinate proportions do not agree with the entire height of 140 feet, or circumference of 411 feet;[1] so that all efforts at a restoration are unsatisfactory.

The situation of the forum is so clearly indicated in the above description of Vitruvius, that all travellers have been led to suppose that it lay to the east of the Pasha's residence on the shore of the large harbour, where are many scattered fragments of architecture.

"The broad street situated half-way up the height of the curve" seems to correspond to the modern road running in the same manner from the east to the west side of the city. The present entrance to the site by this road does not, however, correspond with the western gate of the Hellenic city, but has been led through a breach in the wall. The towers of the

[1] Nat. Hist. xxxvi. c. 5.

ancient gateway are nearly 200 yards further south. The broad street must therefore have curved like a diazoma of a theatre, to which it is compared by Vitruvius: it was situated about "half-way up the height of the curve," that is, on the supposition that it extended from one entrance to the other, which would place its centre somewhere on the rising ground to the south-east of the theatre, as it would be impracticable, from the nature of the ground above, to have passed higher up the side of the hill. No remains, however, or any site of an ancient building are to be found in that vicinity; and the entire western part of the city is destitute of ruins of any particular interest: the theatre and rock-tombs are the only objects in that quarter deserving the notice of the traveller.

I then followed the modern road, examining on either side until I came to a square, about the middle of the plain lying to the north of the harbour: in this open space were a well, a cistern, and a mosque, in which, as well as in the adjacent cottages, are many fragments of ancient buildings. A tank in one of the gardens on the south side of the road is almost entirely built of white marble slabs. These latter attracted my attention, as they appear to have originally faced some well-constructed building. I was consequently induced to examine the neighbourhood with diligence. In following a narrow street leading from the north-west corner of the square, I came to the side of a platform partly faced with Hellenic masonry: the road by its side ascends over a slight eminence or rising ground, and the platform is 8 or 10 feet above the road. About 60 or 70 feet of

the east front is faced with squared blocks, but on the south and west sides of the platform the original facing is removed, and a mass of masonry composed of mortar and rubble is exposed. It is difficult to determine whether this masonry is the original filling-in within the facing, or whether it is some middle-age work which replaced it, as the platform has evidently been enclosed by a fortress or fortified monastery of those times, one of its flanking towers being still visible near the south-east angle of the platform, built upon and beyond the Hellenic facing.

The platform is at present about 70 yards long and 60 broad, the longest side fronting the north and south; but the original breadth was much less, the later work having projected some feet to the north of the Hellenic facing, apparently for the purpose of connecting it with a large Christian church which is in ruins upon another platform below it, but adjoining: the floor of the church is now about 5 feet below the level of the upper platform. That the upper platform did not extend so far as the church is shown by the fact that the north-east angle of the platform is still perfect, and the north facing might also be found perfect if the portion subsequently added were removed. I regret that I did not make more correct measurements of the breadth of the original Hellenic platform, but consider that it could not have been less than 130 feet.

The existence of this Christian church is interesting, making it more probable that the platform was a fortified monastery in the middle ages, than a simple fortress: it is well known to the Greek inhabitants, indeed is considered by them as very

ancient, and until a few years since was frequented on certain days of the year for the purpose of worship: a small chapel, which had been built upon the east end of the ruins, is now used as a stable by the Turkish proprietor of an adjoining cottage. The church is called by the Greeks 'Agia Marina,'[1] a saint of the Greek Church. A long piece of tessellated pavement, 16 feet in length, is now visible in front of a Turkish cottage, built upon the floor of the church, which was large and decorated with the relics of more ancient buildings: several columns and marble fragments still lie upon its floor and sides. Fronting the cottage and erect in the face of the platform are five inscribed columns of the Doric order. The inscriptions upon these have been published by Mr. Hamilton.[2] Two similarly inscribed columns lie upon the summit of the platform. They are all of grey limestone, and from 22 to 26 inches in diameter, with twenty flutings. A comparison of their measurements and materials renders it evident that they belonged to the Doric portico, a portion of the ruins of which is still standing in an adjoining fig-garden. There are also three or four fragments of Ionic columns 3 feet in diameter, with twenty-four flutings: the latter are of white marble, and formed part of a building of superior construction and large proportions: no doubt they have been removed into their present place to form part of the church, which, from other fragments found near and upon it, seems to have been almost wholly constructed from materials derived from more ancient edifices.

Three Turkish cottages stand upon the south end of

[1] 'Αγία Μαρίνα. [2] 'Asia Minor,' ii. Appendix.

the platform near its south extremity, and there are several others round the sides of the eminence: these, being equally Turkish, I could not examine so closely as I wished.

The centre of the platform I found to be composed of the native trachyte rock, being an isolated protrusion standing up in the centre of the plain, the upper half of which merely had been surrounded by masonry, in order to form a platform at the level of its summit. We may naturally infer that such a solid basement was intended to support some noble or lofty superstructure, although not a vestige of it now remains.

The summit of the platform is now 20 feet above the present level of the plain, which is at least 12 or 14 feet higher than it was in the days of Mausolus, of which we have evidence in the pediment of the Doric portico still standing near it, and not more than 7 feet above its level.

Such a commanding position, placed by Nature in the very heart of the city and centre of the plain, would of all others best suit the design of Queen Artemisia, viz. that of raising a monument to her husband and founder of the city, which should be the wonder and admiration of the age. For the situation of such a monument she would naturally choose one where it should stand conspicuous above every other object in the city. The architect and artist will perceive that no position on the side of the theatre hill was so well suited for the situation of such a monument as the Mausoleum.

It is on this eminence of Agia Marina, therefore, that I believe the Mausoleum to have stood. The height of the platform is a great point in favour of

my opinion; for, allowing its present level to be nearly 40 feet above the plain in the time of Artemisia, and that it was some feet higher in its original finished state, this elevation, added to the details of Pliny, which appear to make the height of the superstructure 75 feet, will produce an entire height nearly agreeing with the full elevation given by him of 140 feet.

The measure of the circumference of this basement is, however, not so satisfactory, for the sum of the longest sides is equal to the whole circumference of Pliny of 411 feet; but it is difficult to know to what part of the building Pliny refers, neither is it certain that the platform corresponds exactly with his basis.

The eminent architect who has recently made a beautiful restoration of this ancient monument may find some further aid from these facts, and from the measurements of a few fragments seemingly connected with this building, which will be hereafter given. Mr. Cockerell's conjectures as to the probable state and condition in which the basement of the Mausoleum might now be found, as also the probable use made of it, coincides so remarkably with my notes and opinions formed respecting the platform of Agia Marina, that I am induced to extract them from his Essay on the monument, in a letter to Mr. Newton. Mr. Cockerell writes:[1] "Moreover the solid mass would probably long have existed as a tower of defence, like Hadrian's Mausoleum or that of Augustus, and would have left some traces at the present day, for it would not have been built of squared stones, such as might have applied to the building of the subsequent fortress,

[1] See Mr. Newton's pamphlet, 'Classical Museum,' Part XVI.

but would have been of the order of masonry called 'Emplecton,' or rubble, with layers only, and a facing of solid square stones, or possibly bricks, and much of the material would consequently not be worth carrying away."

On the west side of this eminence, and nearly buried in the soil, is a broken Sarcophagus of porphyry, ornamented with plain bands and festoons, suited to an enclosed tomb. It is not impossible that the ashes of Mausolus or of some of his family may have reposed in this Sarcophagus: its existence at least within 20 or 30 yards of the base of the eminence is an interesting fact deserving of notice, as it is evidently not *in situ*, and seems by its proximity to have fallen from the platform, since it is not connected with any well or fountain such as might account for its transportation from a greater distance. Nearer the face of the platform stood the two marble posterns of a doorway, but it is doubtful whether they are *in situ*.

Having now recorded all that appeared to me worthy of note in connection with the platform of Agia Marina, I shall proceed to the Doric columns standing about 200 yards to the north-west of it. These have been figured and described by Choiseul Gouffier, who considered that they had no connection with the Mausoleum. A very slight examination is sufficient to prove the correctness of this opinion: there were thirty columns in *a line* in the Doric portico: the Mausoleum was *surrounded* by no more than thirty-six; eleven of the Doric columns are *in situ*, at the distance of 145 feet between the extremes; six of these support a part of the entablature.

The building was, no doubt, a long portico that fronted the south. This circumstance, together with its position, in respect to the platform of Agia Marina, leads to the supposition that it may have occupied the northern side of the broad street in which the Mausoleum stood, for its situation sufficiently agrees with the words of Vitruvius, in "being mid-way up the height of the curve."

Of the date of this portico I am not competent to decide, but its workmanship is not of the best times: in the six capitals which support the entablature, the depth of the ovolo varies from 1 to 2 inches in each, some being 6 inches, and others only 4 inches in depth, and the annulets beneath are mere scratches in the marble surface, not even parallel or equidistant. The columns, I have before remarked, are buried within 6 feet of their capitals.

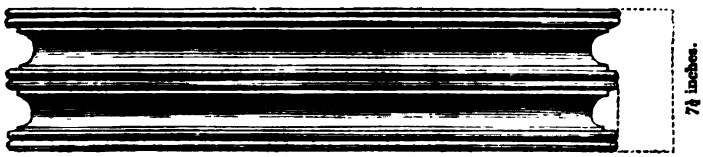
Immediately behind the portico the ground is supported by terraces to the foot of the hills. The uppermost of these terraces formed a large platform, faced with an Hellenic wall 15 feet in height, which is in excellent preservation on the north face. The terrace is at present cultivated as a fig-ground, and divided into two equal parts by a modern wall. This wall, about the middle of the platform, passes over the foundations of a rectangular building that appears to have been the crypt or basement of a temple: upon its eastern end lie three mutilated fragments of columns of white marble of the Ionic order, having twenty-four flutings and a diameter of nearly 4 feet. These proportions, together with the situation and extent of the platform, which is 400 feet long by 300 feet broad, seem to answer to the dimensions and

position occupied by the Temple of Mars, described by Vitruvius as "in summa arce media;" for it being evident from the topography that the city had no Acropolis or citadel large enough to contain a temple of considerable dimensions, as we may infer from the fact of its having contained a colossal statue of the god, and no other ruins existing on any of the heights to answer to such a temple, the passage finds its explanation in the peculiar features of the site.

There being no other ruin or site in any part of the city deserving a particular description, I shall notice a few scattered fragments that attracted my attention, and which seem to have an interest connected with the Mausoleum, from their proportions, or from their material or architectural beauty. The most important was a fragment of sculpture which I procured from an old Turk living in the eastern part of the city. The fragment is now in the British Museum, and seems to have formed part of the Mausoleum with the other sculptures previously brought home, since the subject of it, although much mutilated, has a striking similarity of style and mode of treatment: the fragment is only 1 foot in depth, and therefore denotes the existence of a smaller frieze belonging to that monument, besides the larger one of 2 feet 6 inches in depth. This fragment had laid in the stable of the owner for half a century, but I could learn nothing in respect to the locality whence it was originally procured, or that any other portion of it was known elsewhere.

Whilst examining the western part of the city I found a portion of the base of an Ionic column of exquisite finish, and having two scotiæ separated by

fillets and beads: it is of white marble, and thus belonged to a building of some beauty and cost. A drawing of it is annexed.



It now forms the mouth-piece of a well adjoining a mosque, having been perforated through the centre for this purpose: its diameter is 3 feet 2 inches, and depth 7½ inches, proportions which agree with the Ionic columns lying in the church of Agia Marina and others built into the fortress of St. Peter, there being as many as twelve in the exterior face of the south-east tower. The few which I was enabled to reach measured 26 inches in diameter.

The other sculptures worthy of notice are some Ionic and Doric fragments lying near the Pasha's residence, which attracted the attention of Mr. Donaldson, who has given an engraving of a beautiful Ionic capital inserted in the walls of a dwelling. The dimensions of the columns on the platform of the Temple of Mars are larger than those of the Ionic base above described, and are larger also than these scattered columns.

The mixture of Ionic and Doric fragments at this locality is an argument against their having belonged to a building near, or on the spot; neither will the supposition that the Mausoleum may have stood at this part of the city, from the presence of these fragments, bear with the description of Vitruvius, the

situation being much too close to the port. The medley of materials found here denotes a gathering from other parts for some particular object,—probably the erection of the Pasha's residence, and the mosque adjacent to it, or, in accordance with an old Turkish custom, to form head-stones upon some Mussulmans' graves.

In the second volume of the new series of the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature,' Colonel Leake has shown from Eustathius that the Mausoleum was still known to exist in the twelfth century. At what date it fell into ruin we have no evidence; but that it was so when Schlegelholt, the German knight of Rhodes, resorted to it, as the quarry for materials to erect the Castle of St. Peter,[1] we may reasonably infer,—for such a monument, if standing at that period, must have been noticed. That some veneration was shown by Schlegelholt for this relic of ancient days is manifested by the manner in which the sculptures which once adorned it were placed in the walls of the fortress, and were thus preserved to the present day.

Eudocia, writing in the eleventh century, but copying perhaps from an older writer, describes the Mausoleum as standing "on a mound in a marshy lake:" this is not adverse to my conjecture as to its site: it is not at all improbable that the platform or mound of Agia Marina may have been surrounded by a marsh at that time, for the torrent-bed from the valley between the fortified heights is now lost at this very spot; and anciently the ground may have been lower,

[1] Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. 2nd series, ii. p. 47; Classical Museum, Part xvi.

less cultivated, and less drained near the mound of Agia Marina.

With such historical records, brought down to so late a period, it naturally seems strange that no tradition exists amongst the inhabitants respecting the site of the Mausoleum: but such is the fact,—although a Greek priest, of whom I inquired, gave it as his opinion that it must have been at Agia Marina. But the present Greek inhabitants, being descended from those who became settlers after the expulsion of the Knights, and every vestige of the monument having been long previously consumed in the repair of the fortress, are not likely to give much information upon the subject.

Many will no doubt be anxious to know whether, by excavating at the site itself, some fragments of the Mausoleum might not be discovered: to this I cannot give a very encouraging answer, although I think that by turning up some parts of the ruins of the church of Agia Marina some interesting facts might be gained, tending to identify the site, and perhaps some remains of the monument might be discovered also.

II.—GREEK INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED IN THE ISLANDS OF SANTORIN AND MILO, BY LIEUT. LEYCESTER, R. N.

COMMUNICATED AND EDITED BY JOHN HOGG, M. A., F. R. S., FOR. SEC. R. S. L., &c.

(Read June 13th, 1850.)

Lieut. Leycester, R. N., gave in the Appendix to his recent Memoirs on Santorin (ΣΑΝΤΟΡΗΝΗ), the former *Thera* (ΘΗΡΗ), or originally *Calliste* (ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΗ), and on Milo, the ancient *Melus* (ΜΗΛΟΣ), the interesting and well-known islands in the Ægean Sea (Archipelago), which have been published in vols. xx. and xxii. of the 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' copies of all the Greek Inscriptions which he noticed in those islands, and described as "still existing." The Council of the Royal Geographical Society kindly permitted the Editor to communicate the whole of them to the Royal Society of Literature for publication, if they should be found to be unpublished.

The Editor has examined them with those Inscriptions which have been lately printed in different works,—chiefly those of Professor Ross of Athens, and Böckh's large collection,—and he has ascertained that the most valuable, as well as the greatest number of them, have already been published, either in the

latter noble work, entitled 'Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum,' or in Ross's 'Inscriptiones Græcæ Ineditæ;' a few having, however, previously appeared in 'Reisen auf den Griechischen Inseln des Ægäischen Meeres,' von Dr. Ludwig Ross, Stuttgart, 1840-5.

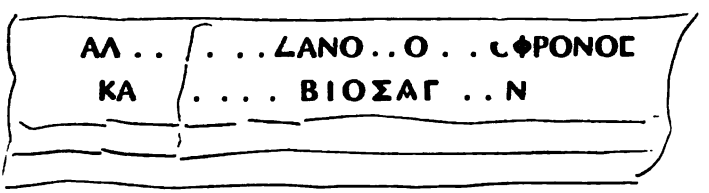
The remainder (which the Editor believes to be unpublished, although they are of no very great importance, either in a historical or literary view) are here given exactly according to the transcripts made by Lieut. Leycester; and his original numbers are also retained, since they are referred to in his memoirs published in the 'Geographical Journal.'

I. INSCRIPTIONS FROM SANTORIN.

(No. 4.) In the new church of Stauros (Σταυρὸς) at Perissa (Περίσσα), upon a small marble pedestal.

ΣΟΚΡΑΤΗΣΣΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ
ΓΑΡΙΟΣ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ

(No. 6.) In the church of St. Giovanni (Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης) near Perissa.



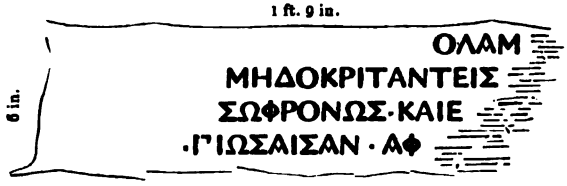
(No. 9.) Engraved on the rocks on the summit of Messa Vouno (Μέσα Βουνος). The letters in the two first lines are 2½ inches.

ΥΛΕΩΝ
ΝΥΙ ΙΦΑΙ
ΔΟΙΑΙΟΥΚΑΠΟΦΟΡΑ

(No. 11.) Near the last, on a rock, amongst a mass of illegible letters turned different ways and apparently without any order.

ΘΗΡΩΝ
ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΕ

(No. 19.) On a stone over the door of the church of Hagios Georgios (St. George), a mile north of Messa Vouno.



(No. 22.) In a field near the church Hagios Georgios, about a mile north of Messa Vouno, in a pit dug into the pumice, is a square pedestal (Stela) of blue marble for a statue: two holes cut in the top admitted the feet, the length of which is 1 foot: on the west side of it occurs the following Inscription, which occupies a space of 1 foot 2 inches high by 2 feet 1 inch wide.

Ω . . ⁊ . . . . . ΚΡΑΤΙ-
ΤΟ · ΝΙΚΑΙ · · ΡΙΣΤΟΦΑ
Ω .. · · ΠΛΩΤΙΟΣΟΕΥΔΟΤΟΣ
ΟΚΛΙΝΑΓΜΙΩΝΟΛΔΕΛΦΟΣ
ΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΠΛΩΤΙΑΛΓΗΣΙ
ΚΡΙΤΑΗΛΔΕΛΦΗΑΥΤΟΥ
ΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΑΝ

(No. 23.) Near the last are some remains of an Hellenic wall of the regular kind; and at no great distance, in a vineyard, is the headless bust of a man—dressed in a toga—of the natural size, in beautiful Parian marble, with these letters on the under part:

ΛΕΥΒΙ

(No. 25.) Over the entrance into the great nave of the old Episcopal church (St. Episkopi) near Pyrgos (Πύργος), an ancient marble cornice, apparently belonging to a Doric temple, is built in as a lintel. On it is this Inscription:

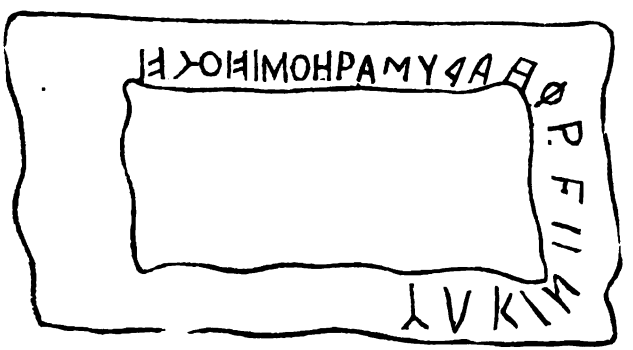
ΠΛΩΤΙΟΣΛΕΩΝΙΔΗΣΑΓΗΣΙΛΠΤ[illegible]ΛΔΜΗΤΟΥ
ΤΗΝΑΥΤΟΥ · ΜΗΤΕΡΑ · · · ΑΦΗΡΙΣΕ

Note.—Plotius Leonidas, *Asiarch*, is mentioned in an Inscription preserved in the church of St. Nicholas (Ἅγιος Νικόλαος) at Kamari (Καμάρι). See 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xx. pp. 34 and 25. Copies of the Inscription itself are published in 'Abhandlungen der Akad. der Wissenschaften,' 2 Band, 2 Abtheilung, p. 409, München, 1838; and in Böckh, Corp. Inscrip. Græc. vol. ii. p. 1085, No. 2463, *c.*—[Ed.]

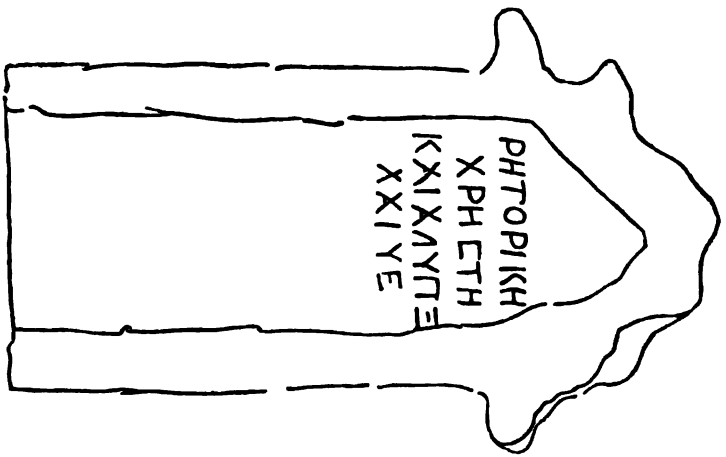
No. 29.) Cut in the side of a small cave at Kamari (Καμάρι).

ΝΥΜΦΑΣ · · ·

(No. 36.) At Upper Gonia (Ἄνω Γωνία), Lieut. Leycester says, "Nikola Scolopetes, the chief man of the place, pointed out to me this and the four following Inscriptions."



(No. 37.) At Upper Gonia (Ἄνω Γωνία).



(No. 38.) Upon the lintel of a door in a house above Lower Gonia (Κάτω Γωνία) I read

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ · · · · · · · · · · ΙΡ · ΛΦΟ
ΚΛΚΑΛΛΙΣΤ(Σ · ?!! ΙΤ · · · · ·

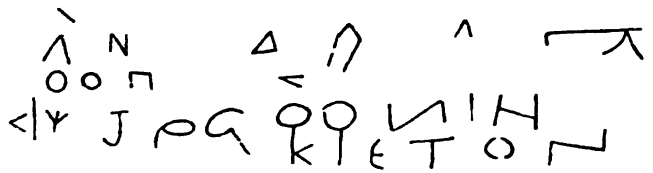
(No. 39.) On the lintel of a door in a house in Lower Gonia. The inscription is upside down and difficult to read.

Δ·ΔΑΩΟΣΝΥΜΦ/
ΚΙΨΝΤΗΝΣΥ^ΒΙΟΝ
ΑΦΗΙ ΩΙΣΕΝ

(No. 40.) In a cave near Gonia, close to a lime-kiln, was found, upon a part of a shaft of a column, the following:

ΟΔΑΜΟΣ
ΘΡΑΣΥΛΕΟΝΤΑΥΠ ⁝:·ΔΟ∠ . . . . . .
ΑΡΕΤΑΣΕΝΕΓΑΙΑΙΚΑΛΟΚΑ·ΑΘΑΣ

(No. 41.) In the house of Dr. Cigalla is a small sculptured piece of marble, dug up in Therasia (Θηρασία): upon it, in low relief, is the figure of a man reclining upon a couch; near him are seen a dog and a child; and under the couch the following characters occur:



II. INSCRIPTIONS FROM MILO.

(No. 4.) On a door-jamb of marble in a house at Kastro (Κάστρο), and found on the spot where the Statue of Venus was dug up.

ΟΔΕΜΟΣΟΜΑΛΙΟΝ
ΣΩΓΕΝΗΜΑΥΚΑΝΙΑ
ΚΑΟΥ·· --ΣΙΑ-ΛΕ
ΘΕΛ ..... ··

(No. 5.) On a stone in a wall at Trypiti (Τρυπητή).

ΛΥΔΙΟΙ . . . ΙΕ
ΟΝ · ΟΑΝΜΟΓ

(No. 6.) On a rough black stone in a church at the village of Tria Vasala (Τριῶν Βασάλων).

ΧΡΥΣΟ
ΧΟΥΣ

(No. 7.) On a large block of marble at Palæo Khori (Παλαιό Χώρι).

ΕΙΟΤΟΣΘΥΓΑΤΗΡΤΙΟΥΛ ·

Line effaced by a chisel.

ΜΙΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΣΤΩΔΙΟΝΕΚΤΩΝΙ

Line effaced.

--- ORTICVLAM·MINERVÆ·ET

(No. 8.) On a pedestal at Tria Vasala.

ΤΕΙΣΑΡΚΟΣ
ΦΥΛΕΟΓΡΑΓΕΟΣ

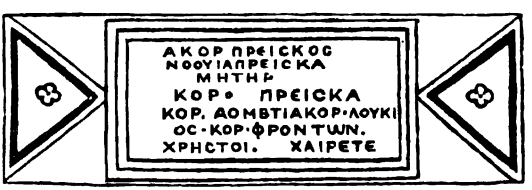
(No. 9.) Upon a pedestal in a field where the Statue of Esculapius was found, which was near the Cyclopean tower to the north of Hagios Nikolas.

ΠΑΙΗΟΝΙ - ΚΑΙ
ΠΑ ΝΑΚΙ
ΠΑΠΙ·ΠΕΥC
ΤΩΝ · ---) (ΡΩ·

Found in a garden below the hill Apollon (Ἀπόλλων) at Milo.

3 ft. 2 in.

1 ft.



Note.—I think in the fifth line the *fourth* letter ought to be Δ, not Α as the engraving has it; for there can be *no* such proper name as ΑΟΜΒΤΙΑ = *Aombtia*, though there may be ΔΟΜΒΤΙΑ, or *Dombtia;* and in the *original* drawing of Lieut. Leycester, I take the fourth letter to be a Δ. But if the Β be a

mistake for Є, or ЄІ, which is most likely, the name would then be *Dometia*, or *Domitia*.

I consider the inscription to be a monumental one to the "*Prisca* Gens," or a family called *Priscus*, and is evidently a Roman-Greek Inscription, *i.e. Roman* proper names engraven in *Greek* characters; and I propose to read the whole inscription in Roman letters, and Latin, thus:

A · COR · PRISCVS
NOVIA · PRISCA ·
MATER ·
COR · PRISCA
COR · DOMITIA · COR · LVSC
VS · COR · FRONTO ·
BENIGNI · VALETE.

The first letter means *Avidius*, or *Aufidius*, or *Appius*, or *Aulanius*, or some such like word.

COR. = *Cornelius*.

NOOYIA, if correctly copied, = *Novia*.

COR, in the fourth line = *Cornelia*.

COR, the first word in the fifth = *Cornelia*.

COR, the third word in ditto = *Cornelius*.

ΛOYKIOC is, I apprehend, an error in the transcript for ΛOYCKOC = *Luscus*, which is a good *Roman* family-name. And KOP · ΦPONTΩN in the sixth line, I interpret to be Cor*nelius* Fronton, or *Fronto*, also a *Roman* family-name of note.

The latter names of *Dombtia*, or *Dometia*, or *Domitia*, *Luscus*, and *Fronto*, are probably those of relatives, or persons who have intermarried with some of the *Prisci*.

The *Roman* family of *Priscus* was of good fame, and some of them were illustrious, especially *Helvidius*; concerning whom refer to *Tacitus'* Annals, lib. 16, c. 28; Hist. lib. 4, capp. 4, 5, 43, and 53; also Vit. *Agricol.* cap. 2; and *Suetonius* in Vit. *Vespas.* cap. 15. See likewise the beautiful letter of *Pliny* to *Neratius Priscus*, lib. 7, epist. 19, on the illness of *Fannia*, the wife of *Helvidius*.

Since *Helvidius Priscus* was Prætor of *Achaia* in the time of Nero, about A.D. 66, it is not improbable that this monumental tablet was erected to the memory of some of his family, inasmuch as I think the date of it *cannot* well be *earlier* than A.D. 100; and very likely a few years later.

All Greece, in the early part of the Roman Empire, was divided into the *two* Provinces of "Macedonia" for the *North*, and "Achaia" from Thessaly, including the Peloponnesus and the adjacent Islands, for the *South:* (Vide *Cellar.* vol. i. pp. 1022, 1170.) And in the New Testament the term "Achaia" is (in A. D. 60) so meant; see II. *Corinth.* i. 1. and xi. 10. And on reference to *Spruner's* excellent 'Atlas Antiquus,' No. IX., which is a Map of 'Imperium *Romanorum* latissimè Patens,' gives the entire Peloponnesus, with the islands Cephalenia, Zacynthus, &c., and apparently also the *Cyclades*, under the title (at that period) of "*Achaia;*" and as *Helvidius Priscus* was Prætor of that province, this may possibly account for the erection of this tablet to certain of the family of *Priscus* in the island of *Melus*,—which was, if not then *part* of, clearly *not far* from, *the province* of *Achaia*. Consequently, the tablet seems to me to afford some biographical interest.—[ED.]

P.S. *Melus* may probably be further connected with some of the *Prisci*, for I find that *Tacitus* has recorded in his Annals (*lib.* XV. *c.* 71) that certain Romans—among whom *Petronius* Priscus is named—were in A.D. 66 sent by Nero to the '*islands* of the *Ægæan Sea.*' He also there mentions a *Novius* Priscus, who was banished by the same Emperor in the same year. *Novia* is then evidently the correct name in the second line, and she was not unlikely a relation. *Novius* Priscus was Consul in A.D. 78. I have followed Lord *Orrery* in considering *Pliny's* 19th Epistle as addressed to *Neratius* Priscus; but some scholars think that it was written to *Cornelius* Priscus, who possibly was the person named in the first line. A *Cornelius* Priscus was Consul in the year 93. I may also remark that *Fronto* is not an uncommon name. There was a *Cornelius* Fronto Consul in A.D. 100; and the celebrated orator *Fronto* bore the nomen gentilicium of *Cornelius*, but he did not die until after A.D. 160.—[ED.]

Ley

III.—FURTHER NOTICE RESPECTING THE SINAIC INSCRIPTIONS.

BY JOHN HOGG, M.A., F.R.S., FOR. SEC. R.S.L., &C.

(Read May 26th, 1852.)

In the present Notice I have the pleasure to communicate to the Royal Society of Literature some further account of the remarkable *Inscriptions* still existing on many of the rocks in the *Peninsula of Mount Sinai*, and which are well known to this Society, as many of them were correctly copied by the Rev. G. F. Grey, and published in fourteen lithographed plates in the second volume of the first series of its Transactions.

In a later volume (iii. new series) I offered a few remarks on these unknown inscriptions, and briefly stated at that time what was chiefly known in this country regarding them, their supposed language, and interpretation. I also alluded to the *possibility* of some of the more *ancient* of them being the *records* of the *Israelites* during their sojourn in the Wilderness and district of *Mount Sinai*, according to the statement and belief of the earliest traveller who has mentioned them—Cosmas Indopleustes.

In the year 1848, when I last had the honour of

addressing the Society on this very interesting subject, the late Professor Beer, of Leipsic, had published a few years before his work entitled 'Inscriptiones Veteres litteris et linguâ hucusque incognitis ad montem *Sinai* magno numero servatæ,' &c., *Lipsiæ*, 1840, in which he has carefully examined these *Sinaic*[1] inscriptions. He, in some degree, follows his friend the learned Professor Gesenius, who considered the more ancient characters as pertaining to that dialect of the *Aramæan*, which was, both in Syria and in parts of Egypt, in much use in the early part of the Christian era: and this he believed to have some affinity with the *Palmyrene*. "Professor Beer," indeed, "had for several years,"[2] as I have already remarked, "previous to 1839 given much attention to the decyphering of the inscriptions; and I find, from a note by Dr. Robinson,[3] that the Professor considers the *characters*, which are written from right to left, to belong to a *distinct* and independent alphabet, some being wholly peculiar, and others having an affinity with the Palmyrene, and partly the Estrangelo (*Syriac*) and Cuphic. The inscriptions consist only of proper names, sometimes beginning זכיר, *memoratus sit;* and the word בר *bar*, or בן *ben*, meaning a *Son*, often occurs between the names. The ends of some may be so read

[1] I adopt the word *Sinaic* in preference to 'Sinaitic,' which Mr. Forster and others use, because the latter too much resembles the term '*Sinaïte*,' that was bestowed by the naturalists of the French Scientific Expedition to Egypt upon a distinct species of *granite* from the Mount *Sinai* group. See my Memoir 'On the Geography and Geology of the Peninsula of Mount Sinai,' p. 262, in Jameson's 'Edinb. New Phil. Journal,' No. for October, 1850.

[2] Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. (second series) vol. iii. p. 232.

[3] 'Biblical Researches,' vol. i. p. 553.

as to affirm that the writers were *pilgrims*, in part perhaps *Christians;* but *no date* having yet been found, the *age* of the inscriptions is *unknown.*"

Professor Beer, however, maintained that these ancient records originated with a *Christian* people, and attempted to assign as their *age* a little more than 150 years previous to Cosmas's discovery of them, about the year 525 after Christ, which would be somewhere about A. D. 375, or towards the close of the fourth century of our era. To this supposed *recent date* we can give little credence, when we consider the nearly *identical* state of these same inscriptions at the *time when* Mr. Grey copied them in 1820, *as compared* with their appearance and condition when Cosmas visited the same spots more than 1300 *years* before.

The chief support in favour of Beer's view of their *Christian* origin seems to be the occurrence, here and there, of a *rude cross*. Because, says Beer,—a certain sign occurs which has the form of the Roman letter Y; on account of its location sometimes at the beginning and sometimes at the end,—in the inscriptions, I think this sign to be "the *Christian cross.*" But I must cite, as not a little contradictory, the following observation of Beer,—"to which opinion it may seem an objection that such a *form* of the Christian *cross* is *novel*, and certainly I have found *no* evidence of its *existence;* but this I think of very slight moment."[4]

A very recent author, Mr. Forster, (whom I shall by-and-by more particularly mention,) states, with greater probability, that this *cruciform character*, or what Beer has mistaken for a *rude cross*,—the like form of which he admits he never saw,—is no other than

[4] Forster, 'The Voice of Israel,' p. 13.

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[4] 'The Voice of Israel,' p. 13.

certain difference" from the writing as exhibited at Wadis *Mukatteb* and *Alegat*.[10] But on the other hand Beer asks, "who were the people who executed these inscriptions?—a question of moment, since by its solution may at last be brought to light the *region* in which this character and language was formerly in use. In fact, I can have no doubt, that *Arabia Petræa* was *that region*, since I see no other which can be put in competition with it. Here, in the ages immediately preceding our era, existed that people vulgarly known to the Greeks and Romans under the name of *Nabathæans*,—a people wealthy, skilled in the arts, and flourishing in commerce; at first independent and under their own kings, afterwards, by Trajan, subjected to Rome. Of this people and kingdom the capital was *Petra*, whose splendid ruins have at length been discovered and delineated in our days. But as to the character and *language* in general use in this kingdom and in western *Arabia Petræa*, of these no monuments whatever remain to us,"[11]—those inscriptions *excepted* which I have already mentioned to have been discovered at Petra by Irby and Mangles, and by Frazer, and which do not appear to have been known to Beer. The late Professor continues, "these inscriptions, if not perhaps appertaining to the people

[10] See the 'Addendum' and the Plate to this Paper, wherein the *first* inscription does not in its character greatly resemble the Sinaic inscriptions; but it is doubtful whether Capt. Frazer's copy is much like the original, for that traveller expressly says it was done with little "hope of attaining much correctness." It appears to me that the *second* inscription (perhaps *two*) copied by him at Petra, "in a ravine near the Khasné," much more resembles the *ordinary* inscriptions in Wadi Mukatteb.

[11] Forster, 'The Voice of Israel,' p. 18.

of that kingdom, may well be attributed to tribes adjoining, and so akin to it that their dialect would scarcely differ from the idiom of the Nabathæans in any respect beyond the admixture of a few Arabisms." —"But that the writing can have been the writing of any but the Nabathæans, I greatly doubt." [12]

Again, the occurrence of *one* or *two* inscriptions in characters *similar*, though *not* altogether, it seems from Captain Frazer's account, *identical* with those of the remarkable inscriptions in *Wadi Mukatteb*, &c., by no means proves that the *language* or idiom (perhaps *Syriac*) of those monuments, existing among the ruins of Petra, was *the language* of the *Nabathæans;* for they may have been placed there by a stranger, or one of a strange family, who had become resident in that city.

Further, Irby and Mangles mention [13] "a passage in Diodorus Siculus, wherein he speaks of a letter written by the Nabathæi of Petra, to Antigonus, in the *Syriac* character;[14] though this, perhaps, is *no* proof that the *Syriac* was *in use* with them, since they may have chosen that language only as more familiar to the court they were addressing." But on referring to Diodorus Siculus, it is by no means *certain*, although most *probable*, that *Syriac*, or some similar *Hebraïstic* dialect, is intended in the original,[15] which is this,—

[12] 'The Voice of Israel,' p. 19. It may fairly be asked, if the inscriptions so abundant on the *west* of the Peninsula were executed by the *Nabathæans*, and in *their* language, how came it that only *two* in *that* supposed idiom are to be found on the *east*, in Petra, and throughout *Nabathæa proper?*

[13] 'Travels,' p. 413.

[14] About 310 B. C.

[15] *Diodor. Sic.* lib. xix. cap. 96, vol. viii. *Edit.* Argentor. Bipont. 1806.

οἱ δὲ Ναβαταῖοι . . . . . ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν Πέτραν . . . . πρὸς δ' Ἀντίγονον ἐπιστολὴν γράψαντες Συρίοις γράμμασι, because Diodorus in *two other* passages (lib. ii. c. 13, and lib. xix. c. 23) writes of an inscription and another letter, as written Συρίοις γράμμασι, where most likely the *Assyrian* language, perhaps *Chaldee*, is intended.[16]

Also Herodotus has said (lib. vii. c. 63) that the people of N. W. Mesopotamia were likewise called by the Greeks, *Syrians*, Σύριοι; but by the barbarians, *Assyrians*, Ἀσσύριοι.

The first of these passages refers to *Semiramis*, and who, Diodorus relates, wrote an inscription in *Syrian* letters on a rock of Mount Bagistan (Βαγίστανος),—ἐπέγραψε δὲ καὶ Συρίοις γράμμασι,—but which inscription would in all likelihood be in the *Assyrian* or *cuneiform* characters.

Colonel Rawlinson, who identifies the modern *Bisutún* with Baghistán, or Bagistanon, was not able to find any traces of Semiramis' inscription on the mountain: the only inscription in *cuneiform* writing which he there discovered was a long one, "exhibiting the religious vows of Darius Hystaspes, after his return from the destruction of Babylon."[17]

I have thought it right to state these circumstances, from which some may affirm that the *Syriac*, or some

[16] I am glad to be confirmed in this view by Mr. Vaux, who, in a note to me, has thus observed: "I have no doubt that the letter from the Nabathæans was in *Syriac* characters, *i. e.* either the old Samaritan, or the Phœnician, or Palmyrene; but, that if Semiramis did write anything on the rock at Baghistán, it was in the Assyrian cuneiform character. Her language would be Chaldee, or a dialect of Chaldee."

[17] See 'Royal Geographical Journal,' vol. ix. p. 113.

like *Hebraïstic* dialect, had possibly been the *original* language of the inhabitants of Petra, and its district *Nabathæa*, and that certain of the unknown inscriptions on the west of the Sinaic Peninsula may likewise be in the *same* dialect.

Thus far had the question respecting these curious inscriptions advanced in 1848, when my Memoir was read to the Society, and these were the concluding words which I then made use of: "After all, as far as I can learn, but little has up to this time been discovered towards the *real* interpretation of these characters;[18] and since Dr. Lepsius 'made a valuable collection of several hundreds of the most legible inscriptions,' I will express a hope that a more correct knowledge of their language, contents, and age, may ere long be obtained."[19]

I will now proceed to make known, as shortly as I can, what *further progress* has been made in this country, as well as on the Continent, towards "a more correct knowledge" of these same inscriptions. Those persons who have been instrumental in forwarding, or collecting materials for, the advancement of our knowledge of them, are respectively — 1, Dr. Frederick Tuch, a learned Orientalist of Germany; 2, The Rev. Charles Forster, of our own country, and author of the 'Historical Geography of Arabia;' and 3, M. Lottin de Laval, a Frenchman, and very recent traveller in the Peninsula of Mount Sinai.

The *first* of these, Dr. Tuch, published in 1849, in the 'Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen

[18] I may add, that the late Professor Beer seems only to have examined *one hundred* of the inscriptions.

[19] Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. (second series), vol. iii. p. 233.

Gesellschaft,' (pp. 129–215,) an elaborate and learned memoir, entitled 'Ein und Zwanzig Sinaïtische Inschriften,' or, 'One and Twenty Sinaic Inscriptions.'

This author seems to have adopted the *alphabet* of these unknown characters which the late Professor Beer made out. He considers the authors of these inscriptions to have been *Arabs*, or of an *Arab* race, that resided in the west of the Sinaic Peninsula, but instead of referring them to the Nabathæans, as Beer has done, he appears to favour their *Amalekitish* origin, — the *Amalekites* having founded, or long occupied, the very ancient city of *Pharan*, which was situated in the vicinity of the greatest number of these curious records. Tuch likewise supposes that these Arabs were *Heathens* who worshipped certain of the heavenly *luminaries*, as he makes out from some of his readings of the inscriptions, and from the occurrence in them of the word זאר, *zar*, 'on Pilgrimage,' or travelling to a *Hedjaz*, or Holy Place. He endeavours to prove that *Mount Sinai* was the *scene of Pilgrimage*[20] before the time of Mahomet. And he

[20] This confirms my view that Mount *Serbal* had, from the like inscriptions remaining even upon its highest summits, long "been regarded as the *real Sinai*, and as such had been the chief resort of pilgrims."—(Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. second series, vol. iii. p. 193.) And that it had been spoken of by Makrizi as a *holy mountain*, and as "the *place mentioned by Moses*," Mount *Paran*.—(Ibid. p. 203.) We know the early Arabs worshipped the heavenly luminaries,—the sun, moon, morning and other stars,—and in fact with some of their tribes originated the use of *fire-worship*; consequently, this will go to determine that Mount *Serbal* was the true Mount *Horeb* or Mount *Sinai* or *Paran*: for, according to tradition, that would be a fit and sacred spot whereon to perform their accustomed rites to the heavenly *lights* or to *fire*, where report doubtless handed down to them

assigns to the *later* inscriptions the date of the second and third centuries after Christ, but to the *older* the century next before Christ. I will here only observe in general terms, that Tuch interprets the inscriptions as containing chiefly *proper names*, many of which are very barbarous ones; for example, — *Mobaqqeru*, *Beeshein*, *Omeiju*, *Kholeissu*, *Waïlu*, or the like.

The *second* author, or Mr. Forster, (some extracts from whose book I have already given,) published last spring a portion of another work called 'The one Primeval Language,' of which Part I. has alone appeared. This he entitles 'The Voice of Israel from the Rocks of Sinai; or the Sinaic Inscriptions Contemporary Records of the Miracles and Wanderings of the Exode.'

The author herein, I find, decides at once in favour of these remarkable writings having been executed by the *Israelites* during their sojourn in that part of the peninsula, and of their being actually the *records* of their own proceedings. He also strenuously maintains that they are irreconcilable with any other supposition. But *more certain* proofs are wanting.

Mr. Forster writes,[21] "If the Sinaic Inscriptions be indeed what Cosmas and his Jewish fellow-travellers

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the ancient story of a *burning* bush (Exod. iii. 1, 2, and Acts, vii. 30), where the Lord, or the Deity, had descended *in fire* (Exod. xix. 18, and xxiv. 17), and where the very mountain (in Horeb) burnt *with fire* (Deut. v. 22, 23). This might have been the real cause of these heathen Arabs selecting the *Serbal* for a *Hedjaz*, or place of *Pilgrimage*; which *Mount*, at an earlier period, tradition might inform them, had been the *scene* of heavenly *fires* and most resplendent *lightnings*.

[21] 'The Voice of Israel,' p. 41.

believed them to be, the *autograph records of Israel* in the Wilderness, it is only reasonable to presuppose that the characters employed in them would bear a close affinity to the written language of Egypt. As Divine Providence never needlessly employs extraordinary, to the neglect of ordinary means, we are justified in assuming, where there exists neither proof nor presumption to the contrary, that the Israelites in the Wilderness used the *characters* and language which they had acquired *in Egypt*[22] during a sojourn of 215 years: they may not, it is true, have written; but if they did write, (as from Deut. xxvii. 1–8 we learn they certainly did, at a later period of the Exode,) we might expect to find in any monuments of theirs the *written characters* of Egypt." And I may here remark, that it would appear from Exod. xxviii. 21, that in the Wilderness, at that period, the Israelites were really acquainted with such a mode of *inscribing* their *names*, or rather the *engraving* them upon *stones* or rocks.

The following seems to be the method whereby Forster worked out *what he considers* the result of his labours: "It was in the summer of 1844, immediately after the publication, in the 'Historical Geography of Arabia,' of an Appendix on the subject of the Hamyaritic Inscriptions, that the kindred subject of the *Sinaic Inscriptions* was brought under my consideration, incidentally, by a friend who had visited Sinai, and who placed in my hands Mr. Grey's collection of the inscriptions (to be met with only in the Transactions

[22] The authors of some of these inscriptions made use of *letters* as parts of *images* or figures, and vice-versâ, *images* for groups of *letters*. —Beer, Introd. p. 12.

of the Royal Society of Literature). At a first glance I was struck by the clear identity of several of the characters with characters of the old *Hamyaritic* alphabet recovered at Hisn Ghorâb, and whose powers were already ascertained by the decypherment of the Hisn Ghorâb Inscription. From the discovery, at *Sinai* also, of these newly recovered letters, I was presently led on to notice, among the Sinaic characters, other characters of previously known forms and powers, — some Hebrew, some Greek, and some Arabic." [23]

And "from the identification with Egypt of a *single character*,[24] (viz. the *Sacred Tau*, or Crux Ansata), the present writer has advanced, [in *his own* opinion,] the proof to the identification of the *Sinaic alphabet* with the enchorial alphabet of the Rosetta stone, and with the characters also found in the quarries of Masara, of a date prior to the age of Moses." [25]

Mr. Forster, by adopting the following simple "rule of experimental decypherment,"—that "in comparing an unknown with known alphabets, *letters of the same known forms be assumed to possess the same known powers*,"—"proceeded at once to test the *alphabet* derived from it, by its experimental application to the *Sinaic* Inscriptions. My first Essay," he continues, "was made upon Mr. Grey's Inscription No. 59, a record in five lines, with two slight outlines (apparently of water), one above the fourth line, the other below it and above the fifth line, and a *quadruped*

[23] 'The Voice of Israel,' pp. 44–5.

[24] Vide *ante*, p. 36.

[25] Forster, 'Voice of Israel,' p. 43. For the latter statement Forster gives *no* authority, and it appears to me very *uncertain*.

opposite the last line but one. It is equally impossible to express or forget the sensation experienced, when my newly constructed alphabet, formed on the principle just described, returned the translation given,"[26] here:

> "The *people* with prone mouth drinketh (at) the water-springs:
> "The *people* (at) the two water-springs kicketh (like) an ass:
> "Smiting with the branch of a tree the well of bitterness he heals."[27]

The author then adds, "I had now before me, *to my own conviction* at least, an apparently *contemporary record* of the second miracle of the Exode, the murmuring of the Israelites at Marah, and the healing of the bitter waters; while the mention, in the second line of the inscription, of 'two water-springs,' (in Arabic, *ddaran*, literally *two places abounding with water*,) corroborated by the two outlines, apparently included the fresh murmuring, or the opening of the rock of Meribah, which immediately succeeded." And again he says, "the prophetic Scriptures represent rebellious Israel under the double image of a 'wild *ass* used to the Wilderness,' and of 'a swift *dromedary* traversing her ways.' And under the same *two-fold* imagery we find her depicted upon the rocks of Sinai;"[28] both indeed under the figure of a "kicking ass," and a "restive camel."

Also Mr. Forster interprets *two* words, which he calls 'key-words,' of most frequent occurrence, the one at the *beginning*, and the other at the *end* of

[26] 'The Voice of Israel,' pp. 45–7. [27] Ibid., p. 48.
[28] Ibid., pp. 51, 141.

the inscriptions, after this manner: "The first of these *key-words* is written in a great variety of forms, but its place in the inscriptions as the grand initial formula, notwithstanding this variety, effectually secures against the possibility of its being mistaken. Upon my first inspection of Mr. Grey's inscriptions, judging simply from the forms of the characters, I read in the *initial* term , the Hebrew word עם, *ám*, 'the *people*,' and in the second or *final* term ISI, the ineffable name, *Jao*, Jehovah, *the only two words* which could sustain and account for the prominence and frequency of their return."[29]

Beer, however, interprets this commencing or *first* 'key-word' into the Hebrew שלם, *shalum*, signifying *Peace*, or *Hail*.

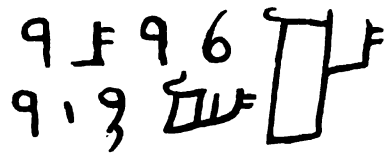
Forster makes of the biliteral form עם, *ám*, but Beer, and Tuch after him, the triliteral שלם, *Sh-l-m*, or *Shalum*. It will be seen that all three agree that the last letter ם is an *m*, and corresponds to the Hebrew ם, *mim*. Consequently the only difference existing between these authors is, whether , the commencing portion of so many of the Sinaic Inscriptions, be *two* letters של, *sh-l*, or *one* ע, an *a*, the Hebrew *áin*. But it appears that this *first* word occurs in some of Grey's Inscriptions, viz. Nos. 23, 35, 139, 153, 165, 166, written ,[30] that is, with a more simple *first* letter , and without the often accompanying *two side strokes* , which Beer and Tuch consider as the *two* Hebrew letters של, *sh-l*.

Now, in order to point out the different translations

[29] 'The Voice of Israel,' pp. 68, 69.

[30] See also No. 177 of Grey's Copies, the original of which is in the British Museum. Vide *infrà*, p. 58, last note.

of the *same inscription*, according to the methods pursued by Tuch and Forster, I have selected No. 15 of Grey's transcripts, Plate I., from *Wadi Mukatteb*, which is this—



Grey, Plate I. No. 15.

No. I. Tuch, the *same* as No. 15 Grey, is thus rendered into Hebrew by Tuch, (p. 175.)

שלם אושך — Shalum Âwsoc!

שלם קיכך — Shalum Kaynoc!

'Hail Ausoc,' or *Ausus*.
'Hail Kaynoc,' or *Cainus*.

Tuch observes, *Ausoc* is a proper name derived from the Greek **AYCOC**, *Ausus*, a common name of a pilgrim, and he refers to Grey's Inscription, Plate XIII. No. 1, which is in Greek. But unfortunately for him the word there is clearly not **AYCOC**, *Ausus*, but according to Boeckh it is **AYΛOC**, *Aulus*, and from my own examination it is **ΦAYCTOC**, *Faustus*.[31] Tuch does not seem to be certain about the proper name in the *second* line; but he has referred to the Hebrew word in *Gen.* iv. 1, for *Cain*, קין, and it is therefore probably *Cainus*.

[31] See Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. (second series), vol. iii. p, 229.

Mr. Forster has translated[32] his No. xvii., which is the *same* as Grey's No. 15, as follows:

> "The people a Wild Ass replete with water:
> The people a Silvan Ass."

He deduces his translation from the Arabic, *except* the first word *ám*, 'the people,' thus:

> "*Marn*—a Wild Ass:
> *Rawi*—drunk (water) to repletion."

And in the second line, the left half,—

> "*Fara*—a Wild, or Silvan, Ass."

To those who wish to follow up the like comparison, I will state that Grey's Inscription No. 86 is translated by Forster, p. 90, Plate IV., and by Tuch, No. v. p. 185; and Grey's No. 83 is rendered by Forster, No. xii. p. 132, and again by Tuch, No. xxi. p. 212.

Having before observed that the learned Orientalists Beer and Tuch do not refer these very ancient records to the '*people* of Israel,' as Mr. Forster has so decidedly done, I do *not* here pretend to *offer an opinion* either way, except in restating what I have before written, *namely*, "that many of the *oldest* inscribed in these strange characters *may* have been executed *not impossibly* by the *Israelites themselves*."

If, in fact, Mr. Forster's interpretation be ultimately proved *correct*, but concerning which I entertain very serious *doubts*, it will be acknowledged by all scholars as a most interesting and extraordinary discovery, and confirmatory in the highest degree of the

[32] 'The Voice of Israel,' pp. 144–5.

Biblical narrative of the *Exodus* of the '*People*' chosen by the Almighty. But before I have finished with Mr. Forster it behoves me to remark that he has entirely *omitted to notice* the previous works of *two* others on the *same* subject; and these are—my own brief labours,[33] read in 1847, and published in the third volume of the new series of the Transactions of this Society in 1849, and the able Memoir by Dr. F. Tuch, also published in 1849: I can therefore only conclude that he was *altogether ignorant* of their existence at the time when he was engaged on his new volume.

And the *third* person whom I have now to mention is M. Lottin de Laval: this active Frenchman, "in his recent personal researches among the rocks of Sinai, followed in the footsteps of former explorers, making it his object to exhaust the stores of information which former travellers had only partially touched. He traversed the peninsula on foot, from end to end, noting with the greatest care and minuteness everything worthy of notice on the track of the Israelites during their forty years' sojourn in the Wilderness. But the most difficult, as well as most important, part of his labours, was the task which had been specially committed to him by the learned body under whose auspices his journey was undertaken, to *make facsimiles* of the *inscriptions* already referred to."

"It would have been impossible for this traveller to

[33] I am happy to learn that the eminent Dr. Lepsius approves of my humble labours: see his very recently published 'Briefe aus Ægypten, Æthiopien, und der Halbinsel des Sinai,' Berlin, 1852, pp. 425, 426, 449, &c.; and the English translation by Mc Kenzie, pp. 427, 428, and 445.

have accomplished his arduous task, as he did, in the short space of *three*[34] months, had he not, as we are informed, availed himself of a new invention, by which he was enabled in a few moments to take impressions of bas-reliefs of considerable size, and whole façades of monumental characters, many of which are from 10 to 12 feet in height. A commission was appointed by the Academy[35] in whose interests his labours were undertaken to examine into their results; and we have seen the *report* thereon, presented in the early part of last summer. It bears the signatures of *Raoul-Rochette, Lenormant, Léon de Laborde, Mérimée, Guizot, de Wailly, Walkenaer*, and *Quatremère.*"

The *report* states,—"an exploratory mission of this kind, in a burning-hot, totally inhospitable region, was connected with danger and fatigue of such a nature that the courage and perseverance of most travellers would have succumbed. In order to take impressions of inscriptions, often engraved on the rocks at a considerable altitude, it was necessary to ascend on long and insecure ladders, subject every moment to the dangers of being hurled down by gusts of wind issuing through the chasms; and the traveller was exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, thrown back with redoubled heat from the high granite or sandstone rocks." And again, "M. Lottin de Laval was able, by means of a new process invented by himself, to take very accurate impressions of the inscriptions, while his predecessors could only furnish drawings of them more or less incomplete. He

[34] *Five* months according to the statement in the Revue Archéol. vol. viii. p. 142.

[35] Of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres of Paris.

penetrated likewise to the most remote points of the Peninsula, and discovered many *new inscriptions* which no former traveller had seen, so that, according to his assertion, there is not even a mark of any kind left but what is entered into his diary. We can therefore now examine with our own eyes the whole series of these curious characters, which differ from everything hitherto discovered, and the existence of which on the Sinaic Peninsula forms a historical problem very difficult of solution. . . . . Besides the Sinaic Inscriptions, there are in the Peninsula also many *Egyptian bas-reliefs* with *hieroglyphic inscriptions* attached. Drawings of some of these monuments have already been made by former travellers; but M. Lottin de Laval has taken impressions of them all, and placed in the hall of the Louvre accurate models of all these bas-reliefs, several of which are of considerable size." [36]

These *Egyptian* monuments with the *hieroglyphics* are doubtless those tablets remaining on the rocks in *Wadi Maghara*, and which are represented opposite pp. 45, 46, in Mr. Bartlett's popular work called 'Forty Days in the Desert;' in the former of which the cartouche of *Suphis* occurs, and is said to be identical with that in the Great Pyramid which he erected.

There are also other *Egyptian* remains at *Sarbut el*

[36] See 'Jewish Intelligence' for February, 1852, pp. 41–2. The writer of that article (Mr. J. C. Holm) kindly informed me that he had received his knowledge of this 'report' of M. L. de Laval's researches from a *German* translation, published in the 'Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes,' No. 67, June 5, 1851. A short notice of the same appeared in the 'Revue Archéologique,' vol. viii. *Deux. Liv.* 1851, p. 142.

Chadem, not far from that Wadi to the north-east, which were long esteemed 'mysterious monuments.' There "the numerous *stelæ* still existing on the west side of the small elevated plain, or rather ledge, are covered, according to Professor Lepsius, with hieroglyphics which record the working of the neighbouring *copper-mines*. He says, the whole country was named in hieroglyphics, *Mafkat*—'the *copper* land.'"[37] Also there, and in the before-mentioned *Wadi*, colonies of Egyptian miners resided from the earliest time. Some of these tablets "contain, as Dr. Lepsius writes, the oldest effigies of kings in existence, without excepting the whole of Egypt and the pyramids of Gizeh."[38]

The models or impressions made by M. L. de Laval of these Egyptian antiquities will doubtless be very accurate, and consequently from them the Egyptologist will have an opportunity of carefully studying their history. He is likewise said to have taken off impressions from about 700[39] of the unknown inscriptions. As this Suphis, king of Memphis, is related to have conquered a portion of the Sinaic Peninsula, which is understood to have taken place about the time of Abraham,—where afterwards existed several *colonies* of *Egyptians*,—and as there are still to be seen, according to Burckhardt and other travellers, a vast number of the same remarkable inscriptions in Wadis Mukatteb, Maghara, Naszb, Berah, &c., not

[37] See Jameson's Edinb. New Phil. Journ. p. 199, No. for April, 1850.

[38] Ibid., No. for October, 1850, p. 273.

[39] This great number will afford Orientalists every opportunity of making a fuller examination of them. As yet Beer has only published one hundred, and Tuch twenty-one.

very distant from *Sarbut el Chadem*—the apparently chief place of the colonies—a question occurs to me, which I do not know has struck any one else, *namely*, can these inscriptions have been in part the *works* of these *colonists* or any of *their descendants?*

Further, as to the *age* of the more ancient of the *Sinaic Inscriptions*, I apprehend that it is *much prior* to the period assigned to them by Beer, or Tuch, or Lepsius; and if the *ancient unknown characters* in which they are engraved on the rocks be the *same* as those mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, as existing on an ancient stone altar in a place near the sea, called *Φοινικὼν*,[40] a *garden of palm* or date-trees, which perfectly answers in his description, as *τόπος παραθαλάττιος*, to the Palm Grove in *El Wadi*,[41] near Tur, they must evidently be considerably *older*. For that author says the altar *ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων ἀρχαίοις γράμμασιν ἀγνώστοις*,—and since he flourished about 44 B.C., he could only apply the terms *ἀρχαίοις* and *ἀγνώστοις* to *cha-*

[40] Diod. Sic. lib. iii. cap. 41. Cosmas, who travelled in the Sinaic Peninsula about A. D. 530, mentions (Montfaucon, Col. Nov. Patr. vol. ii. p. 195) the existence of *palm-trees* (*φοίνικες*) near *Ραΐθου*, (*Raithu*,) now Tur, in his day: and Dr. Lepsius, in March, 1845, leaving the palm garden near Tur, crossed the plain of El Kaa, and then, "at the entrance of the valley (Wadi Hebron) he remarked on the black blocks the *first Sinaic* Inscriptions." (English Edit. p. 334.) But the Palm Grove (*Φοινικὼν*) of Diodorus is erroneously identified by Tuch (Sinait. Inschrift. p. 35) with that in Wadi Firan, which is impossible, because it is *not* (*παραθαλάττιος*) *near the sea*.

[41] See Wellsted's account of *El Wadi*, its luxuriant Date Grove, and its wells and springs of water; pp. 11–15. vol. ii. 'Travels in Arabia.' More to the N. W. of this spot rises *Gebel Mukatteb*, or the 'Written Mountain,' on which are seen numerous ancient inscriptions. Ibid. p. 16.

racters[42] much *preceding* his own time. Also Mr. Grey informs us the *original* Sinaic Inscriptions in *Wadi Mukatteb*, the 'Written Valley,' "are *all* executed with the same instrument, *punched in a series of holes*, and all the *modern* are *cut* with a different instrument and in a *different* manner.[43] So Mr. Bruce, describing in our own country what is called the 'Written Rock,' on the river Gelt, near Brampton in Cumberland, says, the letters which there compose the Roman Inscription "seem to have been made by connecting with a *chisel*, or *pick*, a *number of holes drilled in the rock* in the required order."[44] And as Flavius Aper and Albinus[45] Maximus are the *Consuls* named in that inscription, its date is ascertained to be A. D. 207, when Septimius Severus was Emperor. Hence this inscription, which is still in good condition, has existed for 1645 years, even among the rains, frost and snows of our changeable climate: it is therefore by no means unreasonable to conclude, that in a climate of such *equable* temperature as the Sinaic Peninsula,—where there is no snow or frost in the plains, and very little rain,—inscriptions, similarly *drilled* or *punched* in the faces of the rocks, might be well preserved for *double* that period, or for 3290 years, which in reality is very nearly the time of

[42] Wesseling's note on these *ancient and unknown letters* is, "Arabes videntur aræ et inscriptionis auctores; nisi si de *Hebræis* suspicari quis velit, quod quidem ego *vix ausim*."—p. 521, vol. ii. *Diodor. Sic.* Edit. *Argento. Bipont.*

[43] Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. ii. p. 147.

[44] Bruce's 'Roman Wall,' p. 81, opposite to which see a lithograph of this 'Written Rock.'

[45] Almeloveen, 'Fasti Consulares,' *Amst.* 1740, p. 145, gives the names of this Consul as *Allius* Maximus.

the Exodus of the Israelites, according to our received computation, the exact number being only fifty-three years *more than* the *double*, supposing that the Sinaic Inscriptions were all cut in the *first year* of the Exodus. In Egypt we know that monuments of an *equally ancient* date are still preserved, consequently we cannot by any means hold, on the ground of *age* alone, that it is either *improbable* or *impossible* that the *older* Sinaic Inscriptions were executed by the 'Children of Israel,'—both climates being in fact extremely *similar*.

In conclusion, I can now only earnestly wish, in common with many members of the Society, who have laudably taken a great interest in these very ancient inscriptions, that the labours of M. L. de Laval, so exceedingly important to literature, will not be neglected in the apartments of the Louvre, and that the French Government will quickly take the necessary steps of giving to the world these very valuable models. Then, finally, learned Orientalists will be able to decide which of the following questions—*whether* "the *Sinaic* Inscriptions are indeed what Cosmas and his Jewish fellow-travellers believed them to be, the autograph records of Israel in the Wilderness;"[46] *or* the records of passing pilgrims made whilst stopping a little time in certain resting-places on their route to Mount Sinai; *or* of some Egyptian colonists; *or* of a Christian pastoral or other people resident in that part of the peninsula; *or* of certain hermits or devotees—is the chief and *true* one. Or, whether *more than one* of them do *not* apply to *different*

[46] Forster's 'Voice of Israel,' p. 41.

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scriptions, varying, as I have previously considered ey do, in their age, and language, or dialect.

ADDENDUM.

We are greatly indebted to Mr. Teed, Q.C., for procuring from Sir W. P. Wood a copy of the inscriptions which the late Captain Augustus Henry Frazer, R.A., made amongst the ruins of Petra, and also of one from Mount Serbal. These have been carefully lithographed and are here given. — (*Vide* Plate.) The accounts relating to them, as extracted from the MS. Journal of that lamented officer, are as follow:

No. I. is an inscription in *five* lines on a "very large tomb" at Petra, called 'Um Amdan'— the 'Mother of Temples.' "I copied it rather for the sake of showing the character, than with any hope of attaining much correctness, as its height above me was considerable. It is about nine feet long, and perfectly preserved on a tablet of this shape . The writing bears a strong resemblance to the inscriptions I saw *east* of Sinai, between which and those on the *west*, as at Wadi Mukatteb and Wadi Alegat, there is always a certain difference observable. I believe it to be the *one mentioned* by Irby and Mangles."

No. II. was observed towards the ascent of Mount Hor, "in a ravine near the Khasné."

No. III. a Sinaic Inscription on a mass of red granite rent from Gebel Serbal: "it is always on *this*

red rock that the inscriptions, which are very numerous here, are found."

I may remark that the rock is *red granite* in Gebel Serbal, but *red sandstone* in Wadi Mukatteb. This inscription does not appear to be the same with any of those published in Burckhardt's 'Travels in Syria and the Holy Land,' p. 608, or in pp. 613–14, from that locality.

There is now in the British Museum, placed in a wooden box upon a ledge, among some Persian monuments against the wall in the central saloon, and immediately opposite to the entrance into the Phigalian Gallery, a fragment of the *red sandstone* from near Wadi Mukatteb,[47] on which is cut the *original* Sinaic Inscription, No. 177 of those lithographed in Plate XII. of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. ii. It was presented by the Rev. G. F. Grey to the Museum.[48]

[47] Mr. Grey says, this was "found about six hours from the Wadi Mukatteb on the road to Sarbut el Chadem."

[48] The paper affixed to the wooden box, and the label below it, in the British Museum, are both incorrect. The reference should be to No. 177, (not No. 17,) Plate XII. of the lithographed copies made in 1832, not 1822. Indeed, Mr. Grey's No. 177 is not quite correctly copied, as may be seen by comparing it with the original. And see this translated at No. xxx. p. 154, Forster's 'Voice of Israel,' vol. i.

IV.—ANTIQUITIES AT ATHENS AND IN ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

(Read July 7, 1852.)

I THINK it will be a source of pleasure to this Society to know that one of its members, Charles Newton, Esq., who has lately left England to occupy the post of Vice-Consul at Mytilene, has written during his journey to that Island some letters of interest to the Scholar and the Archæologist, giving an account of several places he was enabled to visit on his travels. Of these, by far the most valuable communication is one addressed to W. R. Hamilton, Esq., detailing his observations on the present condition of the antiquities at Athens and in its neighbourhood. By the kind permission of that gentleman, I have been allowed to make such extracts from his letter as I have thought might be of interest to the Members of this Society.

A considerable portion of Mr. Newton's letter is occupied with a detailed list of the objects he found in the Parthenon, in the Temple of Theseus, in the Museum, and in the Library of the University. From this list I have selected the descriptions of such objects as appeared to me to be of general interest, omitting the less important notes.

W. S. W. VAUX,
Secretary to the Royal Society of Literature.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM CHARLES T. NEWTON, ESQ., TO W. R. HAMILTON, ESQ.

"Syra, April 18, 1852.

. . . . . "It is difficult, without actually visiting the Acropolis and seeing the fragments of sculpture stored there, to form an idea of their interest and value as an additional illustration of those now in the Elgin Room at the British Museum, to which they are as essential as leaves torn out of a manuscript are to the book itself. I will now give you a description of what I saw and noted, and which will probably correspond as a list with that which Mr. Watkiss Lloyd has already drawn up in his letter to the Trustees, the only difference being that Mr. Lloyd has noted the several sculptures as he found them engraved or described in Welcker's work on the 'Western Pediment,' or in Laborde's 'Parthenon.' I have myself noted them down in the order in which I found them *in situ* on the Acropolis: they are in several places, and first,

In the Parthenon itself:

On the *left-hand* side of the temple, as you enter from the west end, and within the *cella*, are the following:

1. The torso of a male figure kneeling on both knees. On reference to Carrey's drawings, you will find this figure in the south angle of the west pediment.[1] It is the last but one, next the angle. The next

[1] See Müller, Denkmäler, Pl. xxvii. No. 121, where this figure is marked *x*.

to it which bounds the composition, on this side, is a reclining female figure, the lower half of which still remains *in situ* on the pediment itself.[1] On climbing up to the pediment to examine this figure, I found that it represented the nymph lying on her right side, both legs being slightly bent, and the left being drawn up under the right. A fracture, running lengthwise through the figure, has cut off all the upper portion. Nothing therefore remains but the back from below the shoulders, the hips and upper portions of the thighs, and the upper parts of the legs: the knees and feet are wanting. The latter have been completely destroyed by exposure to the weather. The other end of the figure, where the head has been, is also much decayed by the weather. The body has evidently been supported on the right elbow. The drapery is very well preserved and deeply under-cut; and where it has been protected by the overhanging of the figure and cornice, it is of a rich brown colour, like that of some of the Elgin figures. The *peplos* is twisted over the loins, the lines of the *chiton* being made to converge towards the pelvis. I do not know whether this figure occupies exactly its original position on the pediment, but from the marks on the marble on which it stands, I should infer this. It is at present exceedingly difficult to examine it properly without the risk of overbalancing oneself, and falling headlong, like the workman of Pericles who fell from the Propylæa, but the drapery is exceedingly fine, and in a plaster-cast would strike the eye very much more than at present. It would, if placed side by side with the cast of the kneeling figure, which I call the Ilissus,

[1] Müller, loc. cit. fig. *z*.

form a most interesting addition to the row of torsoes from the west pediment in the Elgin Room. I have always considered these two figures to be the Ilissus and Callirrhoe: the figure in the British Museum, commonly called the Ilissus, I believe to be the Cephisus, and Mr. Lloyd has come to the same conclusion in his paper on the 'Western Pediment.' On comparing the engraving of the torso kneeling on both knees in Laborde's work, with the figure next to the Callirrhoe in Carrey's drawing, it will be found that the attitude is not identical, but that there is sufficient similarity to leave no doubt that both delineations represent the same figure. This torso is of the greatest beauty, the thighs are very finely preserved, and the same great style we find in the Theseus may be at once recognized.

2. A torso of a draped female figure with a girdle round the waist. She is leaning forward, and the whole position of this torso corresponds very nearly with that commonly called *Amphitrite*,[1] in the Elgin Room, and placed there next to the torso of Neptune in the west pediment. Both are in the attitude natural to charioteers, and if one is *Amphitrite*, the other is probably the *Nikē Apteros*,[2] who acted as charioteer to Athenē, balancing the composition on the opposite side of the west pediment.

3. Fragment of a seated female figure draped. This I should imagine to be part of the figure in the southern half of the west pediment,[3] who is represented with a naked female figure in her lap, and who has been called *Thetis* or *Thalassa, with Amphitrite*. But I

[1] Müller, loc. cit. fig. *o*. [2] Ibid. loc. cit. fig. *g*.
[3] Ibid. loc. cit. fig. *t*.

could not decide this without carefully examining the fragment with Carrey's drawing.

4. Part of the back of a colossal male figure. In this fragment the muscles are treated with surpassing grandeur. The scale of the figure and the general style lead me to conclude that this is part of the back of the *Poseidon*. I am not without hope that it will be found to fit into the back of the torso[1] in the Elgin Room.

5. Two torsoes of male figures. I did not feel sure that either of these belonged to the Parthenon, and M. Pittakys, its present curator, confirmed my doubts. They were found in or about that Temple, in the excavations lately made. There is also part of a colossal lion, the mane of which is coloured red.

6. A fragment of the frieze, consisting of the tails of two horses, and the front rail (ἄντυξ) of the chariot.

There are, in the same part of the Parthenon, a number of other pieces of the frieze, and one metope: but, as of these the Museum already possesses casts, I shall not describe them here.

11. The next place where I found remains of the Parthenon was in a long cellar, or cistern, running north and south in front of the west end of the temple. This place is kept carefully locked, but M. Pittakys was kind enough to open it for me, and to point out the fragments I was in search of, one by one. . . . . The whole cellar is full of pieces of limbs arranged in no kind of order, and most difficult of access; but there are here remains of inestimable value. You remember that Morosini was so struck with the beauty of the chariot and horses of Athené

[1] Müller, loc. cit. fig. *m*.

in the west pediment, that he tried to lower it, and that in the attempt, the whole group fell to the ground, and was shattered in pieces. The fragments of these horses still exist, and show that his estimate of them was not exaggerated. There are two horses' heads quite worthy to be compared with those in the Elgin Room, and very considerable fragments of several hind-quarters, many of which, if carefully examined, might, I think, be readjusted. There is, too, a hoof with holes all round the inside, showing that a metallic shoe had been fastened on to it.[1] All these fragments of horses are engraved in Laborde's work; but I wish to bear testimony to the grandeur of style *which they all exhibit sustained throughout*. They are what might be expected from the mind of Pheidias, as a conception of the horses of Athené, and when it is considered that we have no extant examples of horses *sculptured*

[1] In the description of a bas-relief on a sarcophagus, in Part x. of the Museum Marbles, Pl. xxxix. p. 95, it is observed that the feet of the horses appear to be shod. No doubt the shoe used by the ancients was the solid iron plate with which the horses in Greece and Turkey are now shod. This is called in modern Greek πέταλον; and I think it is not impossible that the use of πέταλον, in the sense of horse-shoe, may be traced back through Byzantine into classical literature. The Latin word for horse-shoe was *solea*, as Catullus tells us in a well-known passage. It has been a question whether the ancients shod their horses; but no one who has ever ridden along the mountainous roads of Greece—roads which are sometimes a sheep-track, sometimes a mere goat-track—ought to feel any doubt that the hoofs of quadrupeds must have required as much protection in antiquity as now. If we suppose that the Greek horses were shod, Homer's constantly recurring epithets, χαλκώνυξ, χαλκόπους, must be interpreted literally, not figuratively, like his χαλκοβατὲς δῶ, an expression which was never understood till buildings like the Treasury of Atreus had been carefully examined.

'*in the round*' that can at all compare with the representation on the frieze of the Parthenon, and that all modern artists fail when they attempt an equestrian statue, the value of the Pheidian fragments as models for the sculptors of Europe cannot be too strongly insisted on. . . . . In the same cellar, or in another near it, is a large wing, which M. Pittakys considers to belong to the figure of Niké or Iris[1] in the east pediment, and which, as you will remember, has square holes in the back behind, for the insertion of wings. But I should rather have supposed this to be the wing of one of the horses in the car of Neptune in the west pediment; for it is more consonant to the art of Pheidias, that his car should have been drawn by winged horses than by hippocamps, as Welcker has supposed. The proper appropriation of this wing, however, can only be determined by getting the cast of it into the Elgin Room, and seeing whether it will fit into the socket at the back of the Niké. Laborde has engraved two of these wings, but I do not remember seeing more than one. (Laborde, Plate IV. figs. 12 & 17.)

There are, also, in this cistern, many fragments of the frieze, and a number of human legs and arms, some from the pediments, some from the metopes, all materials for future restorations. I think Laborde has engraved most of these. (Laborde, Plates II. III. & IV.) When we remember that the fragment of frieze presented to the British Museum, by Mr. Smith Barry, was found to fit exactly into one of the slabs in the Elgin Room, we may reasonably hope that some of the many fragments recently discovered at Athens,

[1] Müller, Pl. xxvi. No. 120, fig. *d*.

will, in like manner, be restored to their place in the extant parts of the composition. The only remaining objects I noted in this cistern were, a marble head with holes for a metallic diadem, a piece of the drapery of a colossal figure, and the stem of a floral ornament from the apex of one of the pediments.

III. At the east end of the Acropolis is a building in which is a temporary museum of smaller antiquities; here M. Pittakys showed me several fragments of the frieze. One represents a figure standing in a car armed with a buckler, and the mouth of a horse: on another piece are three female figures, bearing *phialæ* in the procession, and part of a fourth figure: on another is part of a lyre from one of the slabs, representing the procession of musicians.

IV. At the entrance of the Acropolis, near the lodge of the *custode*, and close to the archaic statue of Athené, I noticed a fragment of the frieze representing a figure with a bull.

V. In the building, on your left as you ascend the Propylæa, which is described by Pausanias as an "edifice containing pictures," are a number of fragments of all styles, provisionally secured by being built into walls. I found parts of chariots' wheels, and a fragment of a horse's head from the frieze.

These are all the torsoes and fragments from the Parthenon of which I took notes. The metopes which still remain *in situ* are much destroyed. Those on the eastern and western fronts are so defaced as to be nearly unintelligible.

I have given you these full particulars because I am quite sure that you take an interest in any the smallest fragment of the great design of Pheidias. If

the scholars of Europe have thought it worth while to edit every relic, however insignificant, of the lost plays of Sophocles, why are we so indifferent to the remains of the art of Pheidias?"

After some further remarks, Mr. Newton proceeds:

"I venture to call your attention to the following considerations:

1. The sculptures in question are for the most part not, at present, in an accessible state. No archæologist or artist can see them without a journey to Athens, and, when on the spot, would never know of their existence except from his previous study. Even then, he can only see them after infinite trouble and delay, by making an appointment with M. Pittakys; his visit to them must be a hurried one, and his impression of their style exceedingly confused from seeing them in a lumber-room.

2. Not only are they difficult of access, but they are further in great peril from mutilation and depredation. Notwithstanding the extreme vigilance of the *custode*, the beautiful bas-relief group of the six seated deities from the eastern frieze, recently discovered, has sustained irreparable injury, the hand and foot of one of the male figures having been broken off. If you look at the cast of this group in the Elgin Room, you will see the hand of this figure overhanging the seat of the chair,—a hand of extraordinary beauty, and remarkable for its preservation. This cast is now the only record of this hand and foot. (See also Laborde, Plate I.). . . . Again,

the prospects of Greece are most unsettled; a revolution may happen any day, and in the event of another revolution, what is there to prevent the Acropolis from being again a fortress, and a mark for the cannon of the besieging party? The shells which in 1833 destroyed the roof of the Erectheium would not be wanting to complete the destruction of the sculptures of Pheidias. Though these fragments are neither accessible nor safe in their present situation, casts of them in the Elgin Room would form a permanent record of their beauty, even though the originals should, by some fatal accident, disappear.

4. To the artist and the archæologist, to all who make the designs of Pheidias, *viewed as a whole*, the object of their study, and do not regard the sculptures in the Elgin Room as isolated fragments, but rather as parts of a great poetic composition, the addition of such casts would be of infinite service. Having myself given several lectures on the Parthenon, I can bear testimony to the advantage of bringing before the eye at once all possible collateral illustrations of the sculptures in the Elgin Room.

Neither Carrey's drawings, nor the remains of the Temple *in situ*, nor the sculptures in the Elgin Room, are singly sufficient for the interpretation of the great compositions of Pheidias, but, when brought in immediate juxta-position, they give unity and significance to that which appeared isolated and hopelessly mutilated. To persist in keeping apart what Pheidias had once united, seems to me, as I said before, very like keeping the book in one place and a few torn leaves in another."

Mr. Newton then gives a list of several beautiful fragments from the Temple of Victory, which he considers to be examples, though not precisely of the same date with those of the Parthenon, of the style of Pheidias, and adds,—

"Viewed as parts of one composition, in alto-rilievo, they are all of the greatest interest, presenting to us a great variety of attitude, and showing a richness of invention such as we find in the series of female figures on the silver coins of Terina. I had rather have seen these few fragments than half the Vatican; there is more invention shown in them than in all the Roman art in Italy.

The portions of the frieze of the Erectheium recently discovered contain many pieces very well preserved, and of the greatest interest, not only as examples of art, of which we know the date, but as representations of those myths of which the whole temple was the shrine. The much disputed questions as to the interior disposition of the several chambers of the temple, and which are still undecided, can hardly be discussed without taking into account the evidence of the frieze. If the Temple of Minerva Polias faced the east, as seems quite certain, it would be natural that the myths represented on the eastern side of the frieze should have reference to her; so, if the portico of Kanephoroi stood in front of the Pandroseium, the southern frieze may again have for its subject the myth of Pandrosus and her two sisters. These, however, are questions which I had not time to examine. . . . . .

One of the groups of the frieze represents a

female figure with a naked boy in her lap, which is particularly interesting, because it illustrates the group in the pediment as it appears in one of Carrey's drawings, where a female figure is seated, and another naked figure, perhaps Aphrodite, is seated in her lap. I have not thought it necessary to describe the other slabs of this frieze, but you will find engravings of them in Rangabé's work, *Antiquités Helléniques*, Athens, 1849, one volume of which is now published, and the second preparing for publication. Among the fragments built, as I stated before, (p. 66,) in the walls on the left side of the Propylæa, are the following,—all beautiful specimens of the manner of Pheidias:

1. The lower half of a figure of Pallas Athené, clothed to the feet in flowing drapery. The left hand rests on the shield. The composition of this fragment is very rich, and it is perhaps a copy from the Chryselephantine statue.

2. A little to the right of the last named, and higher up on the wall, another fragment of Athené. In this, the left side from below the shoulder to the feet is preserved; the left arm, which is bare, rests on the shield; the drapery, which is beautifully composed, falls over the girdle in folds, very much in the same manner as on the fragment of a vase in the British Museum, which represents the Chryselephantine statue, and is described in the Catalogue, No. 998 *a*. On the same frame is an exquisite fragment of a female figure, throwing her *peplos* over her left arm: her hand is represented taking hold of a fold in her drapery.

4. On the left of this and a little below it, in the

same frame, is a female figure joining hands with another female figure: both have sceptres. Below is an inscription, which shows, from the form of the letters, that this bas-relief is of a good period.

5. Bas-relief of Pallas Athené standing opposite an aged male figure. In her right hand she holds out to him a Victory: a large snake rests on his coils at her feet, his head raised towards her right hand. Her left hand reposes on her shield. She wears a helmet, an ægis, and a talaric *chiton*, over which falls an upper fold or garment just at the waist. The male figure has been bearded, and wears a mantle: he leans forward on his staff: his head is gone, but below is the following inscription—

ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟ.....
ΕΡΓΕ.....
... ΡΟ ....

in characters of the time of Pheidias. Above this is a female seated on a rock: her head and her right arm are broken off: her left arm is extended before her, but the hand is lost: she wears a talaric *chiton* and *peplos*. This bas-relief is in the same rich style as that of the Victory tying her sandal, from the temple of Niké Apteros.

7. In this frame, on the other side, near a votive tress of hair, is a bas-relief of an arm and a draped figure, very beautiful for the composition of the lines.

8. Among these frames I noticed some portions of archaic bas-reliefs, which, for the sake of brevity, I will call specimens of the Præ-Phidiac style. A

figure seated on a square seat, which has been painted red. On the knees this figure, which is draped to the feet, holds something like a triangular box: the folds of the garment are very conventionally treated. It is broken off above the hips.

IV. On the right of the entrance to the Propylæa are other frames with bas-reliefs.

1. Is a square plinth of stone, on one face of which is sculptured, in very low relief, a figure of archaic character in a car. This is very interesting from its similarity to the very earliest coins of Syracuse. The wheel has four spokes, imitating a rose. The figure is seated. The horses are two in number, moving slowly. . . . . .

2. Near the bas-relief last described, a block of stone, on one face of which are two Victories, one of whom holds a helmet; between them is a buckler. The other is turned towards a figure at the corner, which, perhaps, she is crowning, but this is too much mutilated to be understood. On the return of this slab is a Victory placing both hands on a tripod in front of her. Facing her is a figure, of which the hand only remains placed on the same tripod. This bas-relief appears to be of the Phidiac period, but of careless execution. It may have reference to two Victories, one military and the other dramatic. It appears to be part of a frieze of Victories: behind the one with the helmet is the wing of another. Above the figures on this side are the remains of an inscription—

. . . . . ΔΟΙΑ
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΝ.

v. At the entrance of the Acropolis, near the lodge of the *custode*, is an archaic figure of Athené, which Müller supposed to represent the Minerva Polias, and which Mr. Scharf has published in the 'Museum of Classical Antiquities.'[1] This figure wears a talaric chiton, and a large ægis falls like a tippet right over the breast to the waist. In the centre of this ægis is a Gorgon's head: all round the edge are holes, to which metallic ornaments have been attached: down each side and under the arms is a projecting ridge, pierced with holes: the studs by which the sleeves have been looped up on the arms have also been of metal, the holes being left: the hair falls in long tresses on the neck: the drapery throughout is wrought in chamelings. This statue is a very interesting specimen of archaic work. The head and both the arms from the elbows are wanting.

2. An archaic horse, of which the fore legs and all the hind-quarters are wanting. This M. Pittakys considers to belong to the ancient Hecatompedon. The style is very rude and careless. These fragments form a valuable series for the illustration of Athenian art. . . . . .

I will conclude my letter by a notice of what I saw in the temporary Museum in the Temple of Theseus. Here have been collected together all the most remarkable sculptures found in and about Athens, excepting those found on the Acropolis itself. A very large number of these are sepulchral reliefs and steles, which are peculiarly interesting, because the inscriptions upon them determine their

[1] 'Museum of Classical Antiquities,' edited by Mr. E. Falkener, vol. i. p. 190.

date, and the bas-reliefs often present beautiful designs, exhibiting the same kind of relation to the higher art of Pheidias that the vase pictures of the best period must have had to the paintings of Polygnotus, or the terra-cotta figures to the great works in bronze or marble. Gerhard, in an admirable Report to the Chevalier Bunsen, in the Annali of the 'Bulletino di Roma,' has exhausted nearly all that can be said about these bas-reliefs: I am disposed, however, to place them nearer to the time of Pheidias than he does. They should be studied in connection with the *lekythi* with polychrome figures on a black ground, the drawing on marble in the Museo Borbonico by Alexander, an Athenian artist, (see 'Pitture di Ercolano,' Plate I.), and the vases with red figures generally. The most remarkable are,

1. A large stone cenotaph, shaped like an Athenian *lekythos;* the lower part, to the height of about a third from its base, has been coloured red. Above, is a scene in very low relief. On one side is a figure on horseback, very similar in type and attitude to many on the frieze of the Parthenon. He is beardless and wears a *petasus*. Round his loins is drapery. Behind him are two females, one seated; the other leans in an affectionate attitude on her companion's shoulder, pointing with her right hand to a group of two warriors in front. This pair are joining hands, as if taking leave of each other. They are youthful beardless figures, and wear Corinthian helmets, and *chitons* girt at the waist, and reaching nearly to the knees. On their left arms are Argolic bucklers. The one on the left holds in his left hand part of a spear, though it is not certain how.

This whole scene is in very low relief, and very slightly and sketchily treated, but exceedingly graceful as a composition. It is loosely and freely drawn; the style, if we make due allowance for the essential differences of painting and sculpture, presents many analogies with that of the finest Athenian vase pictures. The female figures are evidently meant to be in a more distant plane than the rest. The relief, therefore, of these figures sinks below the plane instead of rising out of it, and approximates more to *intaglio rilevato*. Thus to atone for the want of projection of the outlines of the body, a channel is made all round them to strengthen their effect. The seated female figure wears a *chiton* fastened with loops on the shoulder: on her lap is thrown a *peplos*. Her hair is gently waved over the forehead; her left hand rests on the rail of a seat which is very slightly indicated. In front of this rail part of the hind-quarter of a horse projects, the tail dying away into the ground of the relief rather abruptly. It was probably finished with colour, and the rail must have been also coloured, as it is at present hardly distinguishable. So with the shield of the warrior on the left. This is represented in a side view, the outline not being completed on the side most distant from the eye. The mounted warrior stands immediately behind the warrior on the left, so that it is hardly possible to separate their action in this group. . . . . .

No. 41.[1] A very fine piece of drapery of the best time, representing a seated female figure.

[1] The Arabic numerals prefixed to the following descriptions are those attached to the objects themselves in the Theseium.

No. 345. An Athlete scraping himself with a strigil. This is in the same sketchy style as the Cenotaph described above, and is interesting as a piece of fore-shortening.

No. 40. A female figure standing, holding in both hands a little figure of a very curious kind. It is naked, and apparently of the female sex, kneeling on both knees, with both arms behind the back. The larger figure holds in her right hand the head of this *figurine*, its knees rest on her left hand. She wears a talaric chiton with looped-up sleeves and a *peplos*. Her head is wanting.

No. 52. Figure of a warrior advancing his left foot: his right arm, which has been drawn back and is broken off above the elbow, has probably held a sword: his left arm, which is also broken off below the elbow, has probably been advanced to guard him with a shield, or with drapery twisted round. A *chlamys* hangs from his shoulders; the end of it falls over the trunk of a tree, against which his right leg rests. This leg is broken off above the ankle; the left leg is broken off at the knee. The head of this figure appears like an ancient restoration, and is inferior to the rest. The body is very finely treated, particularly the left thigh. This figure is probably of the period of Lysippus. It is in a more flowing and less pedantic style than the Fighting Gladiator, to which at first sight it bears some resemblance. The drapery is very heavy, and does not appear finished behind.

No. 343. A very curious hieratic figure, like one which M. Prokesch von Osten took with him to Vienna from Athens. It is broken above the knees, but otherwise well preserved. The face has the rigid smile and

peculiar archaic type, with the corners of the eyes turned up towards the ears, which characterize the head of Athené on the early coins of Athens. The hair is arranged in regular curls on the forehead, and falls down the back in long tresses. It is bound with a diadem, and the arms hang down at the sides in an Egyptian style. This figure is naked and beardless; the body is less archaic than the head. The shoulders are broad, the waist pinched in as if by stays, the line of the upper arm more flowing than is at first sight reconcilable with the general archaic character of the face. But this figure seems to exhibit a struggle between two styles, one of which may be called the Hieratic or Canonical, the other the Natural, that is to say, one based on a finer perception of Nature and less on traditional rules. This statue should be compared with that of M. Prokesch, of which M. Rangabé has a cast.

No. 362. Another figure of the same class, which does not appear to have been finished, and is much corroded. It is also broken off above the knees.

The celebrated figure of a warrior found near Brauron:[1] this figure is in style very Assyrian; that is to say, there is a design on the part of the artist to render nature in all its details, rather to the detriment of the general effect. On the head appears to be a skull-cap, only covering the crown; the hair falls in parallel rows of ringlets. The beard is channeled in zigzags. The cuirass has been painted. On the shoulder-strap is a star, on the breast a lion's face on a red ground. Below this is a mæander band across

[1] Engraved in the archæological Ἐφημερις of Athens, with a description, p. 127.

the body, which is traversed obliquely by a crimson band, apparently a string or lace knotted on the breast, and terminating at the side in an ornament like a thunderbolt. Below these ornaments, and about the waist of the figure, is another band ornamented with zigzags. Here the cuirass terminates: below it has *pteruges* as far as the groin; they are encircled by a mæander band: below them hang the ends of a short chiton over the hips. On the legs are greaves. The left hand holds a spear: the treatment of this hand is very Assyrian. The ground on which the figure is relieved has been red. Under the feet is ΕΡΛΟΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΥΕΟΣ, and on the base below, ΑΡΙΣ-ΤΙΟΝΟΣ. . . . . .

No. 342. Bas-relief representing a female figure seated on a stone seat, holding in her right hand a *phiale*. Before her is an Altar inscribed ΕΥΘΗ / ΝΙΑ on which stands a very much smaller female figure, holding up in both hands a basket of fruit. Behind this figure is a tree, the branches of which overhang the seated figure; a sash is attached to one branch: below these branches is the word ΤΕΛΕΤΗ. Behind the trunk of the tree is a rock very slightly indicated, and, standing, apparently in the fork of the tree, is a female figure, attired like *Diana Venatrix*, who looks towards the seated figure, holding up the fore-finger of her left hand as if beckoning to her, and placing her right on her hip. Both these figures are very much smaller than the seated figure. This last rests her left elbow on a cippus, which is inscribed ΕΠΙ / ΚΤΗ / ΣΙΣ. She wears a coif, a talaric *chiton* girt at the waist, and

a *peplos* thrown over the knees. On her seat is a sphinx in relief. This bas-relief had formed part of a larger composition, and is of Roman times.

No. 558. A female head thrown a little on one side, the back of the head cut off. Of this a cast is in the Elgin Room.[1] The original has been fitted on to a torso; the shoulders are restored in gypsum; the body is preserved nearly to the hips; the arms are wanting. The dress is a talaric *chiton*, bound with a girdle a little below the hips. This figure is in a grand colossal style, but a little heavy: it may possibly be of the time of Trajan.

No. 579. Alto-rilievo of three figures in a toilet scene. One stands on the right, veiled like a matron; another more youthful figure is stooping to put on her sandal. The veiled figure places her right hand on the head of this stooping figure, as if to direct her movements. Beyond the stooping figure is another female, also veiled, holding out a *pyxis* to the veiled figure. The composition of this group is very tender and Praxitelian, but the execution shows a later period.

Among the sepulchral bas-reliefs in this Temple, which exhibit the usual family group and farewell scene, the most worthy of notice are Nos. 587, 589, 600, 604. This last, perhaps, represents a woman who had died in child-birth: she is seated in a chair, and holds a *pyxis* on her knees; her attitude is that of a person fainting from exhaustion. Before her stands a veiled female figure, perhaps Eileithyia, who advances her right hand as if to comfort the seated figure. Between these two, and in the back ground,

[1] Synopsis of Brit. Mus. No. 106.

is a third female figure, holding in her arms a new-born babe[1] wrapped up in linen, with a conical cap, on which the seated figure places her hand. Behind the seated figure is another seated figure. Many of these bas-reliefs are of a good period, as appears from the character of the Art, and also from the form of the letters in the inscriptions, as, for instance, No. 61, which, in the drapery over the breast of a female figure, shows something of the same rich style as the bas-reliefs of the Temple of Victory, though it is more rudely executed.

Other sepulchral slabs worth examining are Nos. 6, 25, 39, 40, 41, 45, 82, 147, 149, 151, 154, 161, 167, 197, 248, 251, 255, 263, 320, 325, 369, 391, 399. In this list are some slabs, executed by mere stone-masons, but always in a pure taste, and with something of the grace of Pheidias in the design.

The sepulchral slabs, terminating in the honeysuckle or antifixal ornament, are of the same period, and of great beauty as examples of floral decoration. (See Nos. 56, 566, 570, 572.)

No. 507. A seated female figure left unfinished, with the marks of the chisel still upon it. This figure is, perhaps, a Muse, as it is in the attitude characteristic of Muses. A *peplos* is thrown over the lap. In the general type and expression of the face there is something not unlike the statue at the Louvre called the Venus of Milo, and the whole style of the sculpture seems to belong to the same school of Art.

[1] In Part IX. of the Museum Marbles is a marble bas-relief, in which many women with infants in their arms are approaching a seated female figure. This was brought from the Troad by Lady M. W. Montague.

No. 556. Another unfinished female bust, in rather a coarser style.

No. 558A. A youthful male figure standing by the trunk of a tree, round which is coiled a serpent. A cast of this statue is in the British Museum. This figure is, perhaps, of the Macedonian period. There is great beauty in the face, which has rather a pensive expression. The hair is wrought in close compact curls, in that fashion which prevailed both in the Macedonian and Augustan periods. The treatment of the body is fine, superior to that of the Apollo Belvidere, and to that of most of the celebrated statues of Italy. The figure leans a little on one side, like the Apollo on the coins of Seleucus.

At the side of the Temple of Theseus, in the open air, is a colossal figure, probably representing a Victory, and found at Megara. On the shoulders, behind, are the holes for the insertion of the wings. This figure is represented moving swiftly forwards, standing on the toe of the right foot, the left being slightly advanced. She wears a talaric *chiton*, with looped-up sleeves, over which falls a *diploidion*, tucked up at the waist. A girdle passes over this immediately below the breasts. Her hair hangs down her back behind. A great mass of drapery falls down the back to the feet; the *diploidion* reaches to the loins behind a good deal lower than in front, so as to form a kind of jacket. On the feet are sandals: the head and arms are wanting. The figure is in a fine colossal style, perhaps a little heavy for near effect, but very grand at a distance. It is, perhaps, of the same period as the Dionysos from the Choragic monument of Thrasyllus in the British Museum.

I found a far less abundant collection of vases at Athens than might be expected: this can be explained easily, when we consider the extraordinary neglect and maladministration which characterizes the Government in regard to antiquities. From the want of one central Museum, the vases which belong to the national collection are scattered in several places, and it requires some perseverance to find them. In the Temple of Theseus are four or five very large and fine specimens of the earliest vases, with ornaments like basket-work, of which the British Museum contains many specimens, Nos. 2523, &c. In the Acropolis are a number of vases in a small temporary museum, some of the very early style, others with black figures, and others with the polychrome groups on a white ground, but nothing very remarkable, considering the great opportunities for excavating tombs which the Government has had. Here is also one very curious vase from Melos, terminating in an animal's head, which is noticed by Gerhard in his letter to Bunsen. Melos has produced, and is producing still, great numbers of vases of a very interesting character, particularly those with polychrome figures on a white ground. Among the private collections at Athens I noticed nothing remarkable, except one vase from Melos, a large *krater*, with figures painted in a thick white on a black ground, the body of the vase being reeded or fluted, and ornamented round the neck with a vine-wreath and sashes hanging down. This style is common in the Basilicata, and belongs to a late period in the history of vase painting, but I have never before seen an example of it among vases found in Greece Proper.

Every specimen which shows that fictile art passed through the same phases in its mother country as in Italy, Sicily, and other parts of the Greek world, is evidently worthy of our attention. . . . . There is a small collection in the Library of the University, stowed away at the top of the book-shelves: its contents were, I think, chiefly from Corinth. Some years ago great numbers of vases were excavated there, and have been dispersed by being sold to strangers: they were then very cheap, but have become dear again. The Corinthian vases are frequently round *pyxides* with covers, the whole vase painted with animals, lions, or birds, running round in parallel friezes, and on a ground *semée* with flowers. These vases are painted in brown, with incised lines, and are certainly later than the very early Athenian or Melos vases to which I have already alluded, and which are distinguished by the absence of incised lines. These more archaic specimens are simply painted in brown on an ash-coloured ground, with meanders and other patterns resembling basket-work, as Mr. Burgon has pointed out in his Paper on the pottery of Mycenæ and Tiryns, in the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature,' vol. ii. p. 258, new series. On my visit to Mycenæ I picked up many fragments, such as he describes both there and at Tiryns. . . . . .

With regard to coins, I found hardly anything in Greece worth looking at, except a decadrachm of Athens, which belongs to a jeweller there: I never saw but two before. One, now in the British Museum, belonged to Mr. Burgon, and the other to Mr. Thomas. This third struck me as genuine beyond all question:

it differs slightly from the other two. Another collector, a dentist, has the copper coin, with the side view of the Acropolis, showing the Parthenon and the statue of Pallas Promachos: this coin differs slightly from the one in the French collection. In the library of the University I found the nucleus of a national collection, but there is no *custode*, and the coins are kept, not in cabinets, but in bags. With some difficulty I persuaded M. Tipaldi, the Librarian, to show me the great *trouvaille* of tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, which had been discovered near Patras. The greater number of these coins seem to have been struck at Sicyon; they were all quite fresh, as if just issued from the mint: with them were found a number of Athenian tetradrachms,—I mean the thick ones with the archaic head. These last were a good deal worn, showing that they circulated at the same time with the later money. It must be borne in mind, that of this archaic money there are two kinds, one really archaic, and probably struck before the Persian war, the other in a style imitated from the archaic, and which probably circulated from the time of Pericles to the Macedonian period, when the broad, flat tetradrachms were substituted. These last tetradrachms we know to be of a very late period, because we find on them the names of two kings, Antiochus and Mithradates. They probably circulated from B. C. 200 to B. C. 100, and even later into the Augustan age."

V.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE CAUSES OF THE RAPID CONQUESTS OF THE OTHOMAN TURKS IN EUROPE.

BY GEO. FINLAY, K.S.G.

(Read March 9th and 23rd, 1853.)

The establishment of the Othoman Turks in Europe is the last example of an extensive colonization of civilized countries by a ruder race, and of the subjugation of a numerous Christian population by a small number of Musulman conquerors. Many of the causes which had produced the conquest of several provinces of the Roman empire by the first followers of Mohammed doubtless contributed to aid the progress of the Othomans, and some of these deserve more particular attention than has generally been bestowed on them. A few observations, therefore, on an event so important in the history of European civilization may not be unworthy of the attention of the Royal Society of Literature.

The particular causes to which it is the object of this Paper to direct attention are,—in the first place, the superior moral, political, and military conduct of the Othomans; and this superiority having continued for several generations, evidently originated in a better system of education, as far as war, government, and

morals were concerned, than was prevalent among the eastern Christians;—in the second, the number of different races of Christians who were mixed together in the provinces south of the Danube, between the Adriatic, the Ægean, and the Black Seas,—a circumstance which prevented the formation of a national spirit in the greater part of this country;—and in the third, the demoralization of Greek society, and the degraded condition of the institutions of the Greek empire, civil and ecclesiastic, which, as the Greeks assumed the position of a dominant people, excited a general aversion to their supremacy in all other races of eastern Christians.

First,—with regard to the superior conduct of the Othomans. Neither the Othoman people nor government can be said to have had an existence until Orkhan became their legislator. He laid the foundations of their conquering power by uniting his father's tribe of Othoman Turks with the Seljooks and apostate population of his territory into one body by a frame-work of civil and military institutions. Baron von Hammer, in the third book of his 'History of the Othoman Empire,' gives a full account of these institutions. The system of Orkhan was, however, confined to the organization of the army and government;—of the people he took no heed, for he considered that the prophet had done everything they could require in the Koran. The basis of the Othoman government, like that of the Roman emperors, was the household of the Sovereign. But our present object only requires us to mention that portion of the Othoman government which was connected with the tribute of Christian children imposed by Orkhan on

his conquests, as a means of forming a disciplined army. The singular system of education which he introduced for the purpose of rearing these children in his palace, that they might become as one family, was attended with complete success. This early Sultan had 30,000 warlike children who knew no other parent, and the system of education under which these children were trained supplied the state with a succession of great men.

The earlier Sultans were educated on the same system as the tribute children, and for several generations the Othoman Rulers were men who weighed the various contingencies of human affairs with great sagacity; and they were eminently men of progress, ready at all times to receive suggestions for the improvement of their army and civil administration. We must not, however, overlook the fact, that the legislation of Orkhan only constituted a state and an army, not a nation. It created a body fitted to conquer and rule, but it formed no people to colonize and multiply; and even to the present day the mass of the Mohammedans under the Othoman government do not yet form one nation: many tribes of Seljooks in Asia Minor, and of Christian apostates in Europe, have not amalgamated with the Othomans; nor does any national union exist between the Mohammedan people and the central government. The only powerful tie that connects them is religious feeling.

We see, therefore, that when the Othomans commenced their conquests in Europe, they were placed in circumstances not very dissimilar from those of the Arabs when they first invaded the Roman empire

under the early Caliphs. A new legislation had effaced ancestral prejudices, and a powerful progressive impulse pervaded Turkish, as it had pervaded Arabian society. Each successive Sultan embraced new projects of ambition, new inventions in war, and new ideas in politics. Intelligence was stimulated in every rank, and under the Othoman government at this period one great characteristic of advanced civilization was generally developed. Those who were called upon to act in public affairs were sagacious in collecting information, and prompt in executing their decisions. New combinations of men and circumstances constantly called these qualities into action, and as every official was compelled to state the grounds of his decision to a despotic master, it was necessary that he should conceive clearly the reasons which induced him to act. The consequence appears in history. The first modern school of generals and statesmen was formed under the earlier Sultans.

The Othoman princes were educated in the same way as the tribute children; and with regard to their character, it is only necessary to refer to history for proof of their superiority in the art of government. A single contemporary witness may, however, be cited to show the state of public opinion among the Greek Christians, who were the greatest sufferers by the Othoman conquests. This witness is Phrantzes, the last of the Byzantine historians, and companion of Constantine, the last Christian Emperor of Constantinople. That Phrantzes was not personally inclined to speak with favour of the Othoman sovereigns, may be inferred from the fact of his having been made a prisoner, with all his family, at the taking of

Constantinople. His son was murdered by Sultan Mohammed II., his daughter died a slave in the imperial hareem, and the historian himself, after he had escaped from captivity, retired into a monastery to record the misfortunes of his country.[1] Yet Phrantzes gives the following characters of the Sultans Bayazid I. (Ilderèem), Mohammed I., Murad II., and Mohammed II.

"The Sultan Bayazid was liberal and generous to all. He bestowed large presents and pensions on the Christian nobles in his service, or who were his subjects, and gained great popularity among them by eating in their company, and admitting them readily to his society." (Georgii Phrantzæ Chronicon. p. 81, l. 11, ed. Bonn.) "The Sultan Mohammed I. transferred the seat of government from Brussa to Adrianople. He was very liberal to his followers, and a firm friend; but towards his enemies he was as vindictive as a camel," (*ib.* p. 90, l. 4.) "Murad the Second was just to his subjects, thinking of their future fortunes. He ordered his pashas and judges to act justly to all men, and he punished without mercy those who transgressed his orders," (*ib.* p. 92, l. 9). "Mohammed the Second had the energy of youth and the prudence of old age (*παιδαριογέρων*) both in war

[1] Gibbon thought it a matter of shame and reproach, that in his time he could only consult a Latin version of the Chronicle of Phrantzes, deficient in accuracy and elegance. A good edition of the Greek text and a correct Latin translation is still wanted, for the reprint of Alter's edition, at Bonn, is very defective: evident errors in dates are left uncorrected: *ἐν δρόμωνι διασώζεται*, '*he escaped in a frigate*,' is translated, '*Photinus in equo veloci ægre servatus*,' p. 100, l. 12. At p. 102, l. 6, the Greek text has 80; the old and new Latin versions, 8.

and politics. He was firm and sagacious, and loved the society of virtuous and wise men; nor was he himself without learning. He had made considerable progress in astrology, and was fond of reading. He could speak five languages correctly, besides Turkish, namely, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Chaldaic, and Persian." I presume, however, that instead of '*Chaldaic*,' Phrantzes ought to have written '*Sclavonic*.' (Compare *ib.* p. 93, l. 5, and p. 95, l. 13.)

Such is the character of the four Othoman Sultans who conquered the European provinces south of the Danube, as given by an enemy: a single anecdote will be sufficient to show that the officers of the Sultans imitated and emulated their master. The year after Constantinople had been taken by Mohammed II., the Albanian population in the Peloponnesus made an attempt to render themselves independent of the Greek despots, Thomas and Demetrius, who were compelled to solicit assistance from the Sultan. Turakhan, a celebrated Othoman general, was sent to act against the Albanians, for Mohammed was eager to revenge on any of the race the defeats he had sustained from their great countryman Iskander Beg (Scanderbeg). Turakhan soon re-established peace in the peninsula, and at his last conference before returning to Thessaly, he thus addressed the two Greek princes. "In my previous conversations, I have informed you fully of my opinion concerning your position; at present, therefore, I have only to add this: if you remain united as brothers ought to live, you can secure prosperity both to yourselves and your people; but fraternal discord will inevitably bring with it ruin. You must also see that your subjects

are not oppressed by your officers in your name, for injustice will produce vengeance."[1]

To place the conduct of the Othomans in due contrast with that of the Greeks, it is necessary to mention how the princes of the Peloponnesus attended to the advice of Turakhan. Thomas soon attacked Demetrius, the two brothers fought, and each plundered the subjects of the other, until fear of a Turkish invasion suggested to them the necessity of union. They were then anxious to conclude a treaty, but there was great difficulty in finding oaths that were supposed to be capable of binding the conscience of these Christian princes. This was at length effected through the mediation of the bishop of Lacedæmon. The two despots of the Peloponnesus met in the church of Kastritza, where the bishop performed mass in his monastic vestments, and the two brothers swore to live in peace for the future, with all the terrible oaths and imprecations of which the Eastern church permits the use.[2] Yet the result of this parade of religious faith and princely honour was, that before many months elapsed the despots were again at war, and Mohammed II. soon drove them out of Greece.

The police and commissariat department of the Othoman armies also deserve notice, for they were as essential an element of success as the military discipline of the janissaries and the tactics of the generals: the Athenian Chalcocondyles, who was well acquainted with the armies of the east of Europe in his time, thus

[1] Laonici Chalcocondylæ de rebus Turcicis, lib. VIII. p. 218, ed. Paris.

[2] Phrantzæ Chron. 394.

describes the Othoman troops from personal knowledge. "The Sultan's army is the best organized in its encampments of any I have seen, both as regards the arrangement of the tents and the abundance of provisions. The markets are amply supplied with food, horses, and slaves, for traders follow the Sultan wherever he encamps. The principal officers on every expedition are attended by a numerous train of beasts of burden, with provisions for themselves and barley for their horses, so that the number of the baggage train exceeds that of the army. When, therefore, a difficulty of obtaining supplies occurs, and the troops are required to advance, a sufficiency of provisions is easily obtained to supply rations."[1] It may not be uninteresting to compare the state of the army which invaded the Peloponnesus at the beginning of the last century with its condition in the fifteenth. Many of the regulations which had insured success to the Othoman arms were strictly enforced by the Grand Vizier Aalee Komourghèe. I was fortunate enough, at a sale of oriental MSS. which took place at Paris early in 1843, to purchase the original journal of Mons. Brue, dragoman of the French embassy at Constantinople, who accompanied the expedition of the Othoman army which conquered the Peloponnesus from the Venetians in 1715.[2] Mons. Brue, in the account of his expenses which he transmitted to the French Ambassador, has the following note to ex-

[1] Chalcocondyles, 182.

[2] Some notices concerning Mons. Brue, Secrétaire interprète du Roi en langue turque et dragoman de l'Ambassade à la Porte, will be found in the Journal inédité de Galland, published in the second number of the Nouvelle Revue Encyclopédique. Didot, Paris, Fevrier 1847.

plain the high price at which the barley for his horses is charged. "However exorbitant the price of barley may appear as I pass it in the account, it is nevertheless a fact, that the Turkish officers often paid a higher price, for I obtained my supply through Mr. Maurocordatos, the first dragoman of the Porte, for the same price at which it was furnished to him in the camp." This note, and another article in the account charging for the transport of barley which the Grand Vizier had distributed to the army during its advance, afford proof that the excellent discipline of the Othoman armies was preserved until a late period, and explain why the Greeks perferred the presence of Turkish masters, whose soldiers paid for their barley and provisions, to liberty under the republic of Venice, whose mercenaries pillaged them even of their labouring oxen.

The second cause which facilitated the conquests of the Othoman Turks in Europe was, the number of different races of Christians, who were mingled together in the provinces south of the Danube. In the country between the Adriatic, the Ægean, and the Black Seas, the Greek population had greatly diminished in the period between the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders and its conquest by the Turks, and both the Sclavonians and Bulgarians were more numerous than the native Greeks. Even the Albanians, though probably inferior in number, were as powerful and more warlike, while the Walachians, or Romanians, formed an important body of the population in Northern Greece and Thessaly.

The Sclavonians and Bulgarians may almost be regarded as one people. Towards the end of the seventh century the Bulgarians conquered the country between

the Danube and Mount Hæmus, then inhabited by Sclavonians, and in process of time they adopted the language of their Sclavonian subjects—these Sclavonians at the same time assuming the name of Bulgarians, from living under the Bulgarian government. The amalgamation of the two races became so complete, that the Bulgarians of the present day must be considered ethnologically as a Sclavonian people. The wars of the Greeks and Bulgarians fill many pages of Byzantine history, but until the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders, a considerable portion of the Byzantine armies was recruited among the Sclavonians, who formed the agricultural population of Thrace, Macedonia, and part of Greece. The legions of Thrace and Macedonia, so often mentioned by the Byzantine historians as the best troops in the empire, were composed of Sclavonians.

In the fifteenth century the Sclavonian population occupied a larger part of European Turkey than at present. They have become extinct in Greece, and many in the north of Macedonia and in Illyria have embraced the Mohammedan religion, and are now confounded with the other Musulmans. But when Chalcocondyles wrote, the Sclavonic race still occupied a part of the Peloponnesus, and dwelt on the sides of Mount Taygetus, and in the country towards Cape Tænarum. He remarks, that from this most southern point of Europe to the north of the country inhabited by the Russians, which was uninhabitable on account of the extreme cold, the majority of the population, under the various names of Triballians or Servians, Mysians or Bulgarians, Illyrians or Sclavonians, Croatians, Poles, and Sarmatians or Russians, all

spoke one language,[1] *τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπίσταμαι ἱέντας φωνὴν.* The testimony of Chalcocondyles with regard to the existence of Sclavonians in the Peloponnesus in the fifteenth century is confirmed by Mazaris, whose satire, entitled 'A Descent to Hades,' has been published by Boissonade in the third volume of his 'Anecdota Græca.' He enumerates Lacedæmonians who call themselves Tzakones, Italians or Franks, Peloponnesians or Modern Greeks, Sclavonians, Albanians whom he calls Illyrians, Egyptians, and Jews, as the seven distinct races who inhabited the peninsula at the commencement of the fifteenth century.[2]

With regard to the Walachians, it is difficult to fix the precise period at which they invaded the territory of the Hellenic race. But their establishment as an independent population in Thessaly seems to have commenced after the famine and civil war that thinned the Sclavonic and Bulgarian people in the years 1038 and 1040, during the reign of Michael IV. the Paphlagonian.[3] We have numerous testimonies that they were generally governed by independent princes from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, when they fell under the power of the Turks. They are mentioned as an isolated race in the twelfth century by Benjamin of Tudela.[4] In the thirteenth century Pachymeres mentions their prince Taron, and speaks of them as the valiant subjects of Achilles, now called Great Walachians:[5] both the Greek and French texts of the

[1] Chalcocondyles, p. 17. *καὶ Σαρματίας, τῆς νῦν οὕτω Ρωσίας καλουμένης.*

[2] Mazaris, p. 164, 174. *οἱ Λάκωνες καὶ νῦν κέκληται Τζάκωνες.*

[3] Cedrenus, 740, 742, 745.

[4] B. of T.'s Itinerary, by Asher, i. 48.

[5] Pach. i. 49, ed. Rom.

chronicle of the conquest of the Morea apply the name Vlachia to a portion of Thessaly and Epirus in the fourteenth century, and speak of it as governed by an independent prince.[1] Muntaner tells us that the Walachians were so powerful in Thessaly, that the Catalan grand company suffered great loss in forcing a passage through their country.[2] Nicephorus Gregoras also mentions the passage of the Catalans through their country, but the pedantic manner in which he applies the names of Illyrians, Triballians, Acarnanians, and Thessalians, to the various races whom he says dwelt in the vicinity of the Romans (Greeks) of Macedonia, renders it difficult for us to identify the Sclavonians, Servians, Albanians, and Walachians,[3] (p. 152.) *Δεδιότες (οἱ Καταλάνοι) μὴ τὰ τοῖς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Ρωμαίοις ὁμοροῦντα ἔθνη, τὴν αὐτῶν ἕκαστα ἔφοδον ὑποπτεύοντα, παροξύνωσιν ἀλλήλους, Ἰλλυριοί τε δηλαδὴ καὶ Τριβαλλοὶ καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Θετταλοί.* Chalcocondyles informs us, that in the fifteenth century they resided on Mount Pindus, and still occupied a part of Thessaly. He mentions the relation of their language to Italian, and their celebrity as warriors.[4]

At the present day the Albanian is the only foreign race that constitutes an important element of the population in Greece, though they are by no means so numerous as the Greeks, and do not form the whole agricultural population, as the Bulgarians do in the greater part of Thrace and Macedonia. The Albanians appear to have entered the Peloponnesus

[1] See Greek, pp. 58, 97, 115; Fr. 77, 148, 406.

[2] Muntaner, ch. 240.

[3] Nic. Greg. lib. VII. 7, p. 152, ed. Par.

[4] Chalc. p. 16, ed. Par., and p. 41.

towards the end of the fourteenth century, but in the fifteenth they were already established in sufficient numbers to aspire at rendering themselves independent, and they might have succeeded, unless an Othoman army under Turakhan had re-established the Greek domination, as has been already stated. Chalcocondyles mentions, that in the fifteenth century the Albanians occupied very nearly the country which they still inhabit, including, however, Acarnania and Ætolia, from which they have been since entirely expelled.[1] At that time, the fame of that great hero, Iskander Beg, covered the Albanian race with glory.

Now, it is evident that unless a great diminution had taken place in the numbers of the Hellenic race in all the countries from the coast of the Euxine to the mountains of the Peloponnesus, the Sclavonians, Walachians, and Albanians could not have intruded themselves into the possessions of the agricultural population. Many contemporary writers attest that this diminution was going on rapidly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. After the conquests of the Crusaders, Bulgarians and Servians, the Greek population on the European continent, had generally inhabited towns, and the districts under the immediate protection of some fortified post. But towns and cities were destroyed by the Catalans, and in the civil war of Cantacuzenos. The Catalan grand company

[1] Compare Chalcocondyles, p. 13, where he notices the relation of he Albanian or Skipetar language to Italian; 111, 127, 215, where e speaks of the Albanian insurrection in the Peloponnesus; 256 and 83, where he conjectures that the Albanians are the remains of the Iacedonians, and not of the Illyrian race.

and the usurper Cantacuzenos inflicted on the Greek race the deepest wounds it ever received, and from which it has not yet recovered. Muntaner (chapters 223 and 225) boasts, that for five years the Catalans plundered the Greek cities without mercy; the soldiers only asked themselves what they wanted, and then took it from the Greeks. He speaks with delight of towns destroyed, and men sold by auction. After one expedition each man-at-arms received twenty-eight, and each light-horseman fourteen, gold byzants as his share of the plunder. He tells us also (chap. 231) that all the country about Gallipoli, to the extent of ten days' march along the sea coast, was laid waste, and so utterly abandoned by the inhabitants, that nothing remained to plunder. Now the agricultural population of this portion of Thrace had been entirely composed of Greeks. The testimony of Muntaner, who was himself governor of Gallipoli, is confirmed by the Byzantine historian Nicephorus Gregoras (book VII. chap. vi. p. 150, ed. Par.), who mentions that the Catalans had wasted all the country from Bizya to Maroneia and Rhodope, before they moved westward to Macedonia. The Catalans decimated the cities in the eastern part of Thrace; the civil war of Cantacuzenos enabled the Servians and Bulgarians to drive the Greeks out of many districts in the western part of that province, and of Macedonia, of which they had, until then, remained in possession. The pages of Cantacuzenos, Nicephorus Gregoras, and Dukas, tell us that the Greek princes themselves called in the aid of the Servians, Bulgarians, and Turks, during their civil wars, and allowed them to exterminate the Greek race. Dukas

even reveals to us, that they allowed the Turks to carry off Christians of the adverse party, and sell them as slaves, (p. 15, ed. Par.) Bertrand de la Brocquière, who travelled through Thrace in 1433, mentions that all the country from Constantinople along the sea coast, which had once been inhabited by Greeks as far as the banks of the Strymon, was almost deserted; the towns were depopulated, and the villages poor. On the other hand, he notices that the country of the Bulgarians was well peopled. ('Early Travels in Palestine,' edited by Thomas Wright, Esq., published by H. G. Bohn, p. 342, 356.)

The geographical distribution of the Greek, Sclavonian, Walachian, and Albanian races, was, in a considerable extent of country, quite independent of the actual distribution of political power among their princes. Each sovereign, therefore, the Greek emperor, the Servian and Bulgarian kings, and the Walachian and Albanian princes, ruled each a portion of an alien race of Christians, generally hostile to their government. Here, consequently, we observe a natural cause of the treachery which assisted the Othomans in their conquests, and filled their ranks with renegades.

The third cause which has been noticed as having facilitated the progress of the Othomans, namely, the demoralization of the Greek empire, and the general dislike felt to the domination of a race so corrupt as the Greek then was, has been generally observed by modern historians. It will therefore require little illustration; yet it may not be superfluous to say a few words on the state of Greek society in the fifteenth century.

While the Othoman Turks were all activity and intelligence, the Romaic Greeks were all inertness and pedantry. From the time they regained possession of Constantinople, to the end of the Greek empire, their whole attention was directed to maintaining their government, their church, and their state of society, in a stationary condition. The members of their government, proud of the administrative superiority which they supposed they had inherited from the Romans, along with the name of the Roman empire, which they still retained, regarded improvement as impossible, and rejected every proposition for reform. The Greek people also, having been for ages excluded from independent action in the conduct of their local administrations, had gradually transferred all their feelings as citizens to ecclesiastical affairs, and had adopted a conviction that the greatness of the Eastern empire depended on its orthodoxy. Thus, even the public opinion, the popular ideas, and national feelings of the Greek race, were circumscribed within a narrow range, and were strongly opposed to activity and progress. The Greeks were then types of ignorant immoveability—the Othoman Turks, of intelligent progress.

This hostility to advance in Christian society may be traced to an early period in the Eastern empire. The Roman government laboured to fix the various ranks and classes of its subjects in a position somewhat similar to hereditary castes. Numerous laws in the Theodosian code, and in the legislation of Justinian, attest this tendency. The chiefs of the municipalities throughout the empire, (and Rome itself served as their model,) and the members of the corporation of

ticket-porters, were equally fixed permanently in their social condition by imperial legislation.[1] The iconoclast emperors of Constantinople reformed the old fabric of the Roman empire, but the Byzantine emperors who succeeded them, and those of the Greek empire which existed after the recovery of Constantinople from the Crusaders, made it a maxim of imperial policy to retain the various nations under their sway in a stationary condition. This policy excited a deep-rooted hatred on the part of these foreign races; first against the Imperial government, and ultimately against the Greek race. A few examples of the effects of this hostility may be cited: the Bulgarians received Christianity from the Eastern church, but they soon felt the necessity of rendering their ecclesiastical establishment independent of the Greeks; and to effect this, they appointed a separate Patriarch for Bulgaria, whom their king Simeon compelled the emperor Romanus I. and the church of Constantinople to recognize publicly in the treaty of peace concluded in 924.[2] When John I. (Zimiskes) conquered Bulgaria in 972, he abolished the patriarchate, which was never again recognized by the church of Constantinople. The hatred of the Bulgarians to the Greeks displayed itself in numerous rebellions, in which they generally united their cause with the Sclavonians of Macedonia. Under Samuel

[1] Cod. Th. XII. 1, de decur. l. 122, A.D. 392. Statim ut nati sunt curiales esse coeperunt. Cod. Th. XIV. 22, de saccariis. Omnia quæcunque advexerunt privati ad portum urbis æternæ per ipsas saccarias, &c.

[2] Ducange, Fam. Aug. Byz. 175, ed. Par. Οὗτος (Δαμιανὸς) Παραμάρχης ἀπηγορεύθη παρὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς Συγκλήτου κελεύσει τοῦ Βασιλέως Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ Λακαπηνοῦ.

the two nations formed the kingdom of Achrida, which, after a long and bloody war, was subdued by Basil II. (Bulgarochtonos) in 1018. During the reign of Michael IV. the fiscal oppression of the Byzantine government again forced the Bulgarians and Sclavonians to rebel; and before they could be reduced to submission, they took Nicopolis in Epirus, and defeated a Byzantine army at Thebes. In the year 1186, the great revolt of the Bulgarians took place in conjunction with the Sclavonians of Macedonia and the Walachians of Mount Pindus and Thessaly, which succeeded in establishing the second Bulgarian kingdom. Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled through Greece in the generation preceding this great revolution, mentions the violent hatred then prevailing among the Walachians of Thessaly against the Greeks. He says, they only robbed the Israelites, but they murdered the Greeks. Chalcocondyles and Phrantzes both give us an account of the great rebellion of the Albanians in the Morea, during the year 1454, when they attempted to gain complete independence, and hoped even to render themselves masters of the whole peninsula:[1] Chalcocondyles moreover expressly informs us, that Servians, Bulgarians, Sclavonians, Walachians, and Albanians were all assailing the Greek race with the fiercest animosity, when the Turks commenced their conquests in Europe.[2]

Of the feeling of the Greek and Latin Christians towards one another, it is needless to speak. The most respectable of the Greek clergy declared that

[1] Chalco. 215; Phrantzes, 383, ed. Bonn. Spandugino Cantacuzeno in Sansovina's collection, 165, ed. of 1600.

[2] Chalco. 14.

they would rather submit to the temporal power of the Othoman Turks than join in communion with the Western Christians under the spiritual domination of Rome. It is erroneous, however, to suppose that the hostility of the Eastern church to the Latins formed a bond of union among the different nations of which that church was composed. This was not really the case. The causes of dispute among these various nations of the same church were much more frequent and irritating than their imaginary causes of hatred against the Latins. Their quarrels with the Greeks consequently were of daily occurrence, while it required the pressure of some common injury to rouse the feeling of dislike to the Latins into active hostility. The contempt of the Greeks for their co-religionaries of another race was always strongly displayed, and a superiority was arrogantly assumed. This feeling of Hellenic nationality, which was both civil and ecclesiastic, tended much to excite hatred in other nations; and as it was supported in the fifteenth century by no feeling of patriotism, it must be looked upon as one of the causes of the ruin of the Greeks.

In observing the various signs of immoveability and decay in the Greek population, we ought not to overlook the municipal affairs of their cities, and the utter neglect of all civil and sanitary police. The consequences of this neglect are recorded in a short chronicle attached to the historical work of Dukas. It is mentioned, that in the interval between 1348 and 1418 Greece was visited by pestilential disorders at eight different periods, and we know from other sources that their ravages were often frightful.[1] A

[1] Phrantzes, 109 and 157, ed. Bonn; Mazaris; Boissonade, Anecd. Græca, iii. 112.

large proportion of the Hellenic race then resided within walled towns; consequently these diseases produced a greater relative diminution in the numbers of the Greek population than in the races whose habitations were more generally dispersed over the face of the country.

A general review, therefore, of the social as well as the political condition of the population in the east of Europe, when it fell under the domination of the Turks, reveals the melancholy fact, that the Christians were then in every way inferior to the Othomans, and that the rapid conquests of the Musulmans were the consequences of a superior military and political organization, and a more moral and virtuous state of society.

Conjectural Estimate of the Population of the different Races in the European provinces of the Othoman empire on the continent south of the Danube, at the time of the conquest of Constantinople, A.D. 1453.

SCLAVONIAN RACE.		
Bulgarians in Bulgaria, Thrace, and Macedonia	3,000,000	
Servians in Servia, Croatia, Bosnia, Epirus, and Macedonia, of whom about 750,000 in Bosnia and Macedonia are now Musulmans	1,900,000	
		4,900,000
WALACHIAN RACE.		
Walachians in Epirus, Mount Pindus, &c.		300,000
ALBANIAN RACE.		
Albanians in the provinces now belonging to Turkey	1,500,000	
Albanians in the Greek kingdom	250,000	
		1,750,000
HELLENIC RACE.		
Greeks in Turkey dispersed over the whole continent, but chiefly on the coast of Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus	1,500,000	
Greeks in the Greek kingdom on the continent	550,000	
		2,050,000
		9,000,000

It is supposed there are now about 1,000,000 Turks

who pretend to Eastern descent in Europe, Othomans and Seljooks: many of the latter are called Yuruks and Ikonians; the others are confounded with the mass of the Turkish population. The Turkish population has diminished considerably since the year 1700.

VI.—LETTER FROM CHARLES T. NEWTON, ESQ., TO W. MARTIN LEAKE, VICE-PRESIDENT, ON SOME INSCRIPTIONS AT MAVRODHILISSI, THE SITE OF THE AMPHIARAION.

(Read November 9, 1853.)

Rhodes, August 1, 1853.

My Dear Sir,

In your 'Travels in Northern Greece,' vol. ii. p. 441, you give an account of the ancient site at Mavrodhílissi, near Kalamo in Attica. You state that there are many remains at this place, particularly the foundations of walls on the steep slope of the hills on either side of Mavrodhílissi, and you mention a fragment of an inscribed cornice found on this spot, a larger portion of which had been carried to Kalamo shortly before your visit to that village. You observed also at Kalamo an inscription containing a grant of *proxenia* by the people of Oropos, and directing a copy of this decree to be placed in the temple of Amphiaraos. Another inscription, which also appears to have been anciently preserved in the temple of Amphiaraos, you state to have been taken from Kalamo to Athens.

As the inhabitants of Kalamo have been evidently in the habit of supplying themselves with building materials from the ruins at Mavrodhílissi, you infer that the inscriptions which mention the temple of Amphiaraos were taken from this ancient site, and you therefore conclude that the Amphiaraion must have stood here. The correctness of this inference was subsequently confirmed by a discovery made by your nephew Mr. Middleton, who visited Mavrodhílissi in the year 1847, and there found a number of inscriptions *in situ*, and who sent you a copy of the dedication to Amphiaraos which occurs in the next page. Not having time to copy the other Inscriptions, Mr. Middleton could only invite the attention of the Archæologists resident at Athens to these monuments. Nevertheless, Mavrodhílissi remained unexplored till the Spring of 1852, when I visited Greece. I was then induced at the instance of Mr. Griffiths, at that time Secretary of the British Legation at Athens, to make a journey to this interesting spot.

Mavrodhílissi is a deep ravine near the sea-shore, situated between the villages of Markopulo on the N.W., and Kalamo on the S. I had no difficulty in finding the remains of ancient walls which you describe as existing on the steep sides of the ravine; they are situated on the left bank of a stream which flows through this glen to the sea. These foundations are evidently those of a *temenos*, or sacred precinct of a temple. Within this enclosure were a number of large blocks of marble, strewn about on the ground as if they had been recently thrown down from some wall or edifice. These upon examination

I found to contain several inscriptions which were so well preserved that I was able, in spite of almost incessant rain, to copy them all: they were seven in number. The first which attracted my attention was the following, inscribed on an altar.

No. I.

ΒΟΙΔΙΟΝΦΙΛΟΝΑΥΤΟΥ
ΚΑΛΛΙΓΕΙΤΩΝΓΥΘΩΝΟΣ
ΑΜΦΙΑΡΑΩΙ

Βοΐδιον φίλον αὐτοῦ Καλλιγείτων Πύθωνος Ἀμφιαράῳ.

This inscription may, as I hope to show presently, be assigned on internal evidence to a date between Olymp. 116 and Olymp. 145. The dedication of the altar to Amphiaraos would be in itself a sufficient proof that the site of the temple of that hero was on the spot which I am now describing, but the other inscriptions gave further and most satisfactory proofs of this fact, as I shall proceed to show.

I next found the following inscriptions, Nos. II.–VI., containing decrees by which the *proxenia* was granted by the city of Oropos to various persons.

No. II. On a cube or altar.

. . . . . .

[ΕΙΡ]ΗΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΚΑΘΑΠ[ΕΡ
ΚΑ]Ι ΤΟΙΣ ΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΙΣ ΤΗΣ
ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΓΕΓΡΑΠΤΑΙ

Below, in smaller characters,

ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΝ ΚΟΙΝΩΙ ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΦΙΑΡΑΟΥ
ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΟΥ ΑΜΦΙΝΙΚΟΣ ΠΥΘΙΩΝΟΣ ΕΙΠΕΝ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΒΑΛΑΚΡΟΣ ΕΥ
ΝΟΥΣ ΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΙ ΤΗΙ ΤΕ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΙΔΙΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΑΕΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΧΡΕΙΑΝ Ε
ΧΟΥΣΙΝ ΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙ ΤΗΙ ΒΟΥΛΗΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΔΗΜΩΙ ΒΑΛΑΚΡΟΝ ΕΥΦΡΟΝ[ΟΣ] ΑΘΗ
ΝΑΙΟΝ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΩΡΩΠΙΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΓΟΝΟΥΣ
ΚΑΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΙΑΣ ΕΓΚΤΗΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕ
ΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΓΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΑΛΑΤΤΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝ ΚΑ
ΘΑΠΕΡ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΙΣ.

. . . . . .

[εἰρ]ήνης καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ καθάπ[ερ κα]ὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τῆς πόλεως γέγραπται.

Ἄρχοντος ἐν κοινῷ Βοιωτῶν Στράτωνος, ἱερέως δὲ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου Ἐπικράτου, Ἀμφίνικος Πυθίωνος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Βάλακρος εὔνους ὢν διατελεῖ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ ἰδίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀεὶ τοῖς χρείαν ἔχουσιν, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Βάλακρον Εὔφρον[ος], Ἀθηναῖον, πρόξενον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως Ὠρωπίων αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους, καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν, καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ἀτέλειαν καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις.

No. III.

ΣΗΝ ΕΡΜΟ In larger characters.

ΚΑΛ]ΛΙΓΕΙΤΩΝ

[Α]ΜΦΙΑΡΑΩΙ ΓΥΘΩ

[ΚΑ]ΛΛΙΓΕΙΤΩΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΑ[ΝΔΡΟΥ ΕΙΠΕΝ]
ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΣΩΣΙΓΕΝΗΣ ΕΥΝΟΥΣ [ΩΝ ΔΙ]ΑΤΕΛΕΙ ΤΗΙ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΩΡΩΠΙ[ΩΝ]
[ΔΕΔ]ΟΧΘΑΙ ΤΕΙ ΒΟΥΛΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΔΗΜΩΙ [Σ]ΩΣΙΓΕΝΗΝ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ
ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΩΡΩΠΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ [ΑΥ]
ΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΓΟΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΙΑΣ ΕΓΚΤΗΣΙΝ [ΚΑΙ]
ΙΣΟΤΕΛΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝ [ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΙΑΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΓΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΑ]
ΛΑΤΤΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΟΣΑΠΕΡ
[Κ]ΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΙΣ ΓΕΓΡΑΠΤΑΙ

Below, in smaller characters,

ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΝ ΚΟΙΝΩΙ ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ ΙΠΠΑΡΧΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΔΕ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΕΡΜΟΔΩΡΟ[Υ]
ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΦΙΑΡΑΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟ[Υ]
ΚΑΛΛΙΓΕΙΤΩΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΕΙΠ[ΕΝ] ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΦΑ[Ν]ΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΕΟΞΕΝ[ΟΣ]
ΕΥΝΟΥΣ ΟΝΤΕΣ ΔΙΑΤΕΛΟΥΣΙΝ ΤΗΙ [ΠΟ]ΛΕΙ ΩΡΩΠΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΩ[Ν]
ΤΟΙΣ ΧΡΕΙΑΝ ΕΧΟΥΣΙΝ ΕΜ ΠΑΝΤΙ ΚΑΙΡΩΙ ΤΟ ΣΥΜΦΕΡΟΝ ΠΡΑΤΤΟΥ[ΣΙΝ]
ΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙ ΤΗΙ ΒΟΥΛΗΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΔΗΜΩΙ ΦΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΕΟΞΕΝΟΝ ΑΓΑΣΕΙ

ΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΙΣ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΥΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΩΡΩΠΙΩΝ ΑΥ
ΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΓΟΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΙΑΣ ΕΓΚΤΗΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ
[Ι]ΣΟΤΕΛΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΦΑΛΕ[Ι]ΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΓΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΑ
ΛΑΤΤΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ[Σ] ΚΑΙ ΤΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΟΣΑ ΚΑΙ
ΤΟΙΣ ΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΙΣ ΤΗ[Σ] ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΩΡΩΠΙΩΝ ΓΕΓΡΑΠΤΑΙ

. . . . . *ξην Ερμο*[*δώρου*?]
[*Καλ*]*λιγείτων*
[*Α*]*μφιαράῳ* *Πύθω*[*νος*?]
[*Κα*]*λλιγείτων Ἀριστά*[*νδρου εἶπεν*]. *Ἐπειδὴ Σωσιγένης εὔνους* [*ὢν δι*]*ατελεῖ τῇ πόλει Ὡρωπί*[*ων, δεδ*]*όχθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ* [*Σ*]*ωσιγένην Διονυσίου πρόξενον εἶναι καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως Ὡρωπίων, καὶ* [*αὐ*]*τὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους, καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν* [*καὶ*] *ἰσοτέλειαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν* [*καὶ ἀσυλίαν κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θά*]*λατταν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ὅσαπερ* [*κ*]*αὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις γέγραπται.*

Ἄρχοντος ἐν κοινῷ Βοιωτῶν Ἱππάρχου, ἐπὶ δὲ πόλεως Ἑρμοδώρο[*υ*], *ἱερέως δὲ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου Δημοστράτο*[*υ*], *Καλλιγείτων Ἀριστάνδρου εἶπ*[*εν*], *ἐπειδὴ Φα*[*ν*]*ὸς καὶ Κλεόξεν*[*os*] *εὔνους ὄντες διατελοῦσιν τῇ* [*πο*]*λει Ὡρωπίων καὶ τῶν πολιτῶ*[*ν*] *τοῖς χρείαν ἔχουσιν ἐμ παντὶ καιρῷ τὸ συμφέρον πράττου*[*σιν*], *δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Φανὸν καὶ Κλεόξενον Ἀγασεικλέους, Χαλκιδεῖς, προξένους εἶναι τῆς πόλεως Ὡρωπίων, αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκγόνους, καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῖς γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν καὶ* [*ἰ*]*σοτέλειαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἀσφάλε*[*ι*]*αν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ πολέμου ὄντος καὶ εἰρήνη*[*s*], *καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τῆ*[*s*] *πόλεως Ὡρωπίων γέγραπται.*

No. IV. On an oblong cippus.

ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΜΕΝΩΝΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΗΔΗΣ ΠΙΡΓΟΥ ΕΙΠΕΝ
ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΠΩΛΙΑΣ ΕΥΝΟΥΣ ΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΙ ΤΗ ΤΕ ΠΟ
ΛΕΙ ΚΟΙΝΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΙΔΙΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΑΕΙ
ΠΑΡΕΧΕ*ΤΑΙ ΧΡΕΙΑΣ ΕΝ ΠΑΝΤΙ ΚΑΙΡΩΙ ΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙ ΤΕΙ
ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΔΗΜΩΙ ΠΩΛΙΑΝ ΗΓΕΜΑΧΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΝ ΠΡΟ
ΞΕΝΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ ΤΗΣ Γ ΟΛΕΩΣ ΩΡΩΠΙΩΝ ΑΥ
ΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΓΟΝΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΙΑΣ
ΕΝΚΤΗΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΙΣΟΤΕΛΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝ
ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΓΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΑΛΑΤΤΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ΟΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ
. . . . . .

Ἱερέως Μένωνος, Ἀριστομήδης Πίργου εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Πωλίας εὔνους ὢν διατελεῖ τῇ τε πόλει κοινεῖ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς δεομένοις ἀεὶ παρέχεται χρείας ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Πωλίαν Ἡγεμάχου, Ἀθηναῖον, πρόξενον εἶναι καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως Ὡρωπίων, αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔνκτησιν καὶ ἰσοτέλειαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ πολέμου ὄντος καὶ . . . . . .

* Here a letter has been cut out.

No. V. On a stone, broken at the top.

ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ ΝΙΚΟΣΤ[ΡΑΤΟΥ ΕΙΠΕΝ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΑΔΑΜΑΣ]
ΕΥΝΟΥΣ ΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΙ ΤΕ[Ι ΠΟΛΕΙ ΩΡΩΠΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΠΑΝΤΙ]
ΚΑΙΡΩΙ ΤΟ ΣΥΜΦΕΡΟΝ ΠΡΑΤΤ[ΕΙ ΤΕΙ ΤΕ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΚΟΙΝΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΑ]
Θ ΙΔΙΑΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΩΙ ΚΑΘΑ ΑΝ ΔΥΝΑΤΟΣ ΕΙ [ΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙ ΤΕΙ]
ΒΟΥΛΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΔΗΜΩΙ ΑΔΑΜΑΝΤΑ ΔΙΩ[ΝΟΣ?]
ΑΠΟ ΜΕΛΙΤΕΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΗΣ [ΠΟΛΕΩΣ]
ΩΡΩΠΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ [redacted]* ΚΑΙ ΕΚΓ[ΟΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ]
ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΙΑΣ ΕΓΚΤΗΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΙΣ[ΟΤΕΛΕΙΑΝ]
ΚΑΙ ΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΓΗΝ Κ[ΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΑΛΑΤΤΑΝ]
ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΝΤ[Α ΟΣΑΠΕΡ ΤΟΙΣ]
ΛΟΙΠΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΙΣ ΤΗΣ Π[ΟΛΕΩΣ ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙ]
ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΕΙΠΕΝ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΚ[ΡΑΤΗΣ ΕΥΝΟΥΣ ΩΝ]
ΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΙ ΤΕΙ ΠΟΛΕΙ Ω[ΡΩ]ΠΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΠΑΝΤΙ ΚΑΙΡΩ[Ι ΤΟ ΣΥΜΦΕΡΟΝ]
[ΠΡ]ΑΤΤΕΙ ΤΕΙ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΘ ΙΔΙΑΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΩΙ ΚΑΘΑ ΑΝ ΔΥΝ[ΑΤΟΣ ΕΙ]
[ΔΕΔΟΧΘ]ΑΙ ΤΕ[Ι] ΒΟΥΛΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΔΗΜΩΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΝ ΖΩΙΛΟΥ Θ[ΗΒ]
ΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΦΘΙΩΤ[Ι]ΔΟΣ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΩΡ[ΩΠΙΩΝ]
ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΓΟΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΙΑΣ ΕΓΚΤΗΣΙΝ
ΙΣΟΤΕΛΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΓΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤ[Α ΘΑΛ]
ΑΤΤΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΛΛΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΟΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ
ΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙ

* Here a word has been erased.

'Αρίστων Νικοστ[ράτου εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ 'Αδάμας] εὔνους ὢν διατελεῖ τε[ῖ πόλει 'Ωρωπίων καὶ ἐν παντὶ] καιρῷ τὸ συμφέρον πράττ[ει τεῖ τε πόλει κοινεῖ καὶ κα]θ' ἰδίαν ἑκάστῳ καθὰ ἂν δυνατὸς εἶ, [δεδόχθαι τεῖ] βουλεῖ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ 'Αδάμαντα Δίω[νος] ἀπὸ Μελιτείας πρόξενον εἶναι τῆς [πόλεως] 'Ωρωπίων, καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγ[όνους, καὶ εἶναι] αὐτοῖς γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν καὶ ἰσ[τέλειαν] καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν κ[αὶ κατὰ θάλατταν], καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης, καὶ τἆλλα πάντ[α ὅσαπερ τοῖς] λοιποῖς προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τῆς π[όλεως ὑπάρχει].

'Αρίστων Νικοστράτου εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Πολεμοκ[ράτης εὔνους ὢν] διατελεῖ τεῖ πόλει 'Ω[ρω]πίων καὶ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ[ι τὸ συμφέρον] [πρ]άττει τεῖ πόλει καὶ καθ' ἰδίαν ἑκάστῳ καθὰ ἂν δυν[ατὸς εἶ], [δεδόχθ]αι τε[ῖ] βουλεῖ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Πολεμοκράτην Ζωΐλου, Θ[ήβ]ας τῆς Φθιώτ[ι]δος, πρόξενον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως 'Ωρ[ωπίων], αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους, καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῖς γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν, ἰσοτέλειαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατ[ὰ θάλ]ατταν, καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης, καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τῆς πόλεως ὑπάρχει.

No. VI. On a fragment.

[Ο ΔΕΙΝΑ ΚΑΛΛΙ]ΓΕΙΤΟΝΟΣ [ΕΙΠΕΝ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΕΥΝΟΥΣ ΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΙ ΤΗΙ ΤΕ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΚΟΙΝΕΙ Κ]ΑΙ ΙΔΙΑΙ ΠΑΡΕΧΕΤ[ΑΙ ΧΡΕΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙ ΤΕΙ ΒΟΥΛΗΙ ΚΑΙ Τ]ΩΙ ΔΗΜΩ ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤ[ΡΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΙΝΑ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ ΤΗ]Σ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΩΡΩΠΙ[ΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΓΟΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΚΙΑΣ ΕΝΚΤΗΣ]ΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΙΣΟΤΕΛΕΙΑ[Ν ΚΑΙ ΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛ
ΕΜΟΥ ΟΝΤΟΣ Κ]ΑΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ Κ[ΑΤΑ ΓΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΑΛΑΤΤΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΛΛΑ
ΠΑΝΤΑ ΥΠΑ]ΡΧΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΚΑ[ΘΑΠΕΡ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΙΣ]

Ω P In larger characters.

[*Ὁ δεῖνα Καλλι*]*γείτονος* [*εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Ἀντίπατρος εὔνους ὢν διατελεῖ τῇ τε πόλει κοινεῖ κ*]*αὶ ἰδίᾳ παρέ-χετ*[*αι χρείας τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς δεομένοις, δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλῇ καὶ τ*]*ῷ δήμῳ Ἀντίπατ*[*ρον τοῦ δεῖνα πρόξενον εἶναι καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆ*]*ς πόλεως Ὠρωπί*[*ων αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔνκτησ*]*ιν καὶ ἰσοτέλεια*[*ν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ πολέμου ὄντος κ*]*αὶ εἰρήνης καὶ κ*[*ατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ὑπά*]*ρχειν αὐτῷ κα*[*θάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις*]

Ὠρ[*ωπίων*]

So much has been written on the subject of the *proxenia*,[1] that it is hardly necessary for me to repeat here that the Greek *proxenos*,[2] in the ordinary acceptation of this term, was a person appointed by a Greek State to protect the commercial interests of its citizens, and to afford them assistance and hospitality, in a foreign city.

In this respect his duties were analogous to those of a modern consul or commercial agent, but with this difference, that the *proxenos* was a citizen not of the State by which he was appointed, but of that in which he exercised his agency.

In return for his good offices, εὐεργεσία, the State which he represented bestowed on him certain civil rights and privileges. These rights varied in different places.

The privileges most usually granted to a *proxenos* were—1, exemption from taxation, either total exemption, ἀτέλεια, or equality in respect of such burthens with the rest of the citizens, ἰσοτέλεια;—2, ἰσοπολιτεία, equality of civic rights;[3]—3, the right of acquiring real property, γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησις;—4, protection for life and property, ἀσφάλεια καὶ ἀσυλία, both in peace and war, by land and sea, καὶ κατὰ γῆν

[1] K. F. Hermann, Lehrbuch d. Griech. Staatsalterth. Heidelb. 1841, § 116, p. 256; Boeckh, Corpus Inscript. I. p. 731.

[2] We find examples of another class of *proxeni* at Petilia, Sparta, and perhaps Corcyra. (Boeckh, I. p. 11 and p. 731.) These appear to have been magistrates appointed by the State from among its tizens, to act in the capacity of public hosts for the benefit of reigners.

[3] The ἰσοπολιτεία conferred all civic rights except those of a poli-al nature, such as the *jus suffragii*. Boeckh (loc. cit.) remarks at ἰσοπολιτεία differed but little from ἰσοτέλεια.

καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ πολέμου ὄντος καὶ εἰρήνης. Instead of this general privilege of ἀσφάλεια we have sometimes a grant of free ingress by sea, εἰσπλοῦς καὶ ἐκπλοῦς,[4] or by land, εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος,[5] or free importation and exportation, εἰσαγωγὴ καὶ ἐξαγωγή.[6]

Various other privileges were included in the general phrase, καὶ τἄλλα πάντα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τῆς πόλεως ὑπάρχει, the formula with which most decrees of *proxenia* are concluded.

Among these further privileges were—1, ἐπιγαμία, the right of intermarrying;—2, προεδρία, the privilege of the most honourable seat in the public games;—3, προδικία or δίκαι προδίκαι, the right of pleading first in law suits;[7]—4, ἐπινομία, the right of pasturage.[8] In places where there were great public festivals, as at Delos and Tenos, *proxeni* had the right of being present at the festivals and sacrifices;[9] and at Delphi they possessed the privilege of first consulting the oracle, προμαντεία.[10] In most decrees the grant of *proxenia* is extended to the lineal descendants of the person thus distinguished.

None of the privileges accorded to *proxeni* in Greece Proper raised them above the rank of *Peregrini*: hence, at Athens, they were placed under the jurisdiction of the Polemarch. But in the Asiatic cities the *politeia* or full citizenship was very generally

[4] Boeckh, C. I. Nos. 2056, 2134 *b*, 2354, 2673, 2676, 3523, 2264 *l*.

[5] Ibid. No. 3723.

[6] Ibid. No. 3523.

[7] Ibid. Nos. 1691–1693, 2056.

[8] Ibid. Nos. 1335, 1724 *b*, 1771–3.

[9] Ibid. No. 2334.

[10] Ibid. Nos. 1691–3.

bestowed on them. This was also the case in some of the Thracian cities.[11]

These general remarks on the character and motive of decrees of *proxenia* may serve to explain those here published, which are all according to the usual form, as may be seen by comparing them with numerous examples in the Corpus Inscriptionum of Boeckh. They are, however, not without historical interest, as I shall now proceed to show. After line 11 of Inscription No. III. a decree commences with the words *Ἄρχοντος ἐν κοινῷ Βοιωτῶν Ἱππάρχου, ἐπὶ δὲ πόλεως Ἑρμοδώρου, ἱερέως δὲ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου Δημοστράτου*, and Inscription No. II. line 4 declares that Straton was Archon in the *κοινὸν* of Bœotia, and Epikrates priest of Amphiaraos at the time when it was written. This *κοινὸν* of Bœotia was the congress held by the Bœotian confederacy of cities. The original members of this League, fourteen in number, are supposed by Boeckh[12] to have been Thebes, Orchomenos, Haliartos, Coronea, Copæ, Thespiæ, Tanagra, Lebadea, Anthedon, Chalia, Acræphia, Platæa, Chæronea, Oropos.

Subsequently the number of confederate cities appears to have varied at different epochs. At and after the time of Epaminondas the League consisted of eight cities: it is mentioned several times in ancient authors, but the names of the cities are not always the same.

Thus the cities which were associated in a League after Cassander restored Thebes, Olymp. 116, 1, were Thebes, Orchomenos, Lebadea, Platæa, Coronea, Thespiæ, Chæronea, Tanagra. These cities, in the

[11] Boeckh, C. I. Nos. 2053 *b*, 2053 *c*, 2056, 2060, 2134 *b*, 2161.

[12] Ibid. 1. pp. 727–8.

great Dædalean festival, celebrated at Platæa, received by lot fourteen *simulacra* or images, the smaller cities being associated with them in a *συντέλεια*, in Inscription No. 1593, Boeckh.

In other cases Oropos and Anthedon are substituted in the list, for not long after Olymp. 116, the Anthedonians and Oropians send magistrates of the League in conjunction with Thebes, Orchomenos, Coronea, Thespiæ, Tanagra, Platæa. Again, in No. 1542, of which the date falls between Olympiads 125 and 152, we have a list of hostages given to the Achæans from eight Bœotian cities. The same names are given in this list as in Inscription No. 1593, except that Haliartos is substituted for Anthedon.

The Bœotian League was dissolved at the taking of Corinth, Olymp. 158, 3, but was probably restored shortly afterwards: we have historical proof that it lasted till the time of the Antonines.

Originally the Congress consisted of four chief councils or *βουλαὶ*, which met in one spot. They decided the more important affairs, but we know nothing of the constitution of these councils.

In later times the affairs of the League appear to have been regulated by a popular assembly, *δῆμος*, which was doubtless composed of the citizens of the confederate States, just as, among the Amphictyons and Achæans, those citizens of Hellenic States who had come to sacrifice with the Amphictyons, either for the sake of some religious rite or to consult the oracle, formed themselves into an *ἐκκλησία*.[13]

This appears from the evidence of inscriptions published by Boeckh in the Corpus Inscriptionum.

[13] Boeckh, loc. cit.

Thus in Inscription No. 1565 the δῆμος names a common *proxenos*: according to Boeckh the βουλὴ and δῆμος, by whom decrees are made, No. 1570[a], is that of the Congress; but this, as I shall hope to show, is a supposition which the evidence of the Mavrodhílissi Inscriptions goes far to disprove. In an Inscription, No. 1625, of the time of the Roman Empire, the Congress is styled τὸ κοινὸν Παμβοιωτῶν συνέδριον, and decrees honours to Epaminondas of Acræphiæ. The Chief magistrate of the League is the Eponymous Archon, styled ἄρχων ἐν κοινῷ Βοιωτῶν;[14] in other places we have ἄρχων Βοιωτοῖς.[15]

Boeckh has shown that this magistrate must not be confounded either with the Bœotarchs or with the Archon of any particular city: from such functionaries the Archon of the League is distinguished in two Inscriptions, Nos. 1573 and 1575. In the Mavrodhílissi Inscription, No. III., we have another example of this distinction. Here the name of the Archon of the κοινὸν, Hipparchos, is associated with that of the archon of a particular city, τῆς δὲ πόλεως Ἑρμοδώρου. This city, as we are told, two lines below in the same inscription, was Oropos. The inscription therefore was written during a period when Oropos belonged to the Bœotian confederacy. This city, situated on the frontier between Attica and Bœotia, was a constant

[14] Boeckh, C. I. No. 1570.

[15] Ibid. Nos. 1573, 1575. The names on the silver tetradrachms of Bœotia (Mionnet, ii. pp. 100–2, Nos. 13–48, and Suppl. III. p. 504, Nos. 10–22) must be those of Archons of the League, as Eponymous magistrates, not of Bœotarchs, as Eckhel supposes in the case of Ismenias. Among these is the renowned name of Epaminondas.

object of contention for the two countries; hence, in some periods, it was considered as an Athenian city, at other times we find it restored to Bœotia.

From the adoption of the κοινὴ, instead of the Bœotian dialect, in the Mavrodhílissi Inscription, No. III., we may infer that it is not of a date anterior to Olymp. 130, about which period Boeckh considers that the old Bœotian dialect fell into disuse.[16] Following the history of Oropos in the period after Alexander the Great, we find that, having passed into the hands of the Athenians, it was recovered by the Bœotians about Olymp. 116, and continued to form part of their territory till Olymp. 156, when we find it again mentioned as an Athenian town.[17]

The Oropians appear as Members of the Bœotian League in an inscription already referred to, which, from internal evidence, Boeckh assigns to the period between Olymp. 125 and 152.[18] The date of the Mavrodhílissi Inscription, No. III., is probably between Olymp. 130 and 156. K. F. Hermann remarks, that, on the restoration of Thebes by Cassander, Olymp. 116, the Bœotian confederacy was probably re-organized, and that the greater part of the facts respecting it preserved in inscriptions may be referred to this time.[19]

The date which I have here assigned to the Mavrodhílissi Inscription nearly agrees with that given by Boeckh to an inscription containing the frag-

[16] Boeckh, C. I. p. 718.
[17] Pausan. vii. 11; Boeckh. C. I. p. 739.
[18] Boeckh, C. I. p. 711, No. 1542.
[19] Lehrbuch d. Gr. Staatsalt. § 182, Note 10.

ment of a decree of *proxenia* made by Oropos, and found on the site of that city.[20]

This decree is written in the κοινὴ like those of Mavrodhílissi, and so nearly resembles them in form that it is doubtless of the same epoch. Boeckh places it between Olymp. 115, 2, and 156, but considerably nearer to the latter epoch. The date of the Mavrodhílissi Inscription, No. III., being thus approximately fixed, we can hardly doubt that the other decrees of *proxenia* found on the same site are of the same period. Their form and dialect present a striking uniformity, and, as far as I could judge from a very hurried examination, the style of the palæography showed that they were all of one epoch. It must be observed, however, that the name of the Archon of the League and that of the Priest of Amphiaraos which we find in No. II., are prefixed to a long and interesting decree found at Kalamo, near Oropo, and now in the British Museum.[21] Both inscriptions must therefore be of the same age, but Boeckh ascribes the Kalamo decree to a period as late as Olymp. 177, chiefly on the ground that the name Mithradates, which occurs in it, was not in use in Greece before the time of the great monarch of that name.

Boeckh would hardly, I think, have come to this conclusion on such slight grounds, had he had the opportunity of comparing the Kalamo Inscription with those from Mavrodhílissi. As I have already noticed, he has assumed that the words βουλὴ and δῆμος in the Kalamo Inscription refer to the Senate and popular assembly of the League, whereas it is evident by a

[20] Boeckh, C. I. No. 1566. [21] Ibid. No. 1570.

comparison of the text with that of the Mavrodhílissi, No. II., that the *βουλὴ* and *δῆμος* meant here can only be those of Oropos itself, as, indeed, might naturally be expected from the vicinity of this city to Kalamo, where the decree was found. Hence the mention of *πολιτῶν* (l. 12), of *συνηγόρων τῆς πόλεως* (l. 26), and of other magistrates, *πολεμάρχοι* and *κάτοπται*. Boeckh being forced to admit that these expressions must relate to the citizens and magistrates of some particular city, and not of the League generally, supposes that decrees of this kind were executed in the name of the whole confederacy by some one city chosen to preside in its turn over the rest. He therefore supposes that the magistrates in the Kalamo Inscription are those of Thebes. He further asserts that the Amphiaraion at the period to which he assigns the decree was not under the control of any particular city, but of the League generally.[22] I do not know what his authority for this statement may be, but I conceive it to be contradicted by the evidence of the Kalamo Inscription alone. Moreover, while we can have no doubt that the decrees of Oropos were registered in the Amphiaraion, not only because we find them *in situ* at Mavrodhílissi, but because in the fragment already referred to, No. 1566, an Oropian decree is ordered to be engraved on a marble *stelè*, and placed in the Temple of Amphiaraos, we have, on the other hand, no such evidence that decrees of the League were preserved in the same edifice. It seems much more probable that they were placed in the Temple of Athene Itonis, near Coronea, because we know that the *Pambœotia*, or meetings of the League, were held there.[23]

[22] Boeckh, C. I. 1. p. 751.

[23] Pausan. ix. 34, 1; Hermann, Lehrbuch d. Gr. Staatsalt. § 180, 1.

It must, however, be confessed, that in the form of the Oropian decrees there is a peculiarity which we have yet to explain. In the Mavrodhílissi Inscription, No. III., the name of the Eponymous Archon of the League precedes that of the Archon of the city itself. This form of heading occurs in the decrees of other federal cities, as in the case of the Lebadeans, Boeckh, No. 1575, *Χαροπίνω ἄρχοντος Βοιωτοῖς, Λεβαδειείοις δὲ Κα . . . . ὀττιος*: and again, No. 1573, *Κτεσίλαο ἄρχοντος Βοίωτυν, Ἐρχομενεῦσι δὲ Καραΐχω*, though from other decrees in Boeckh we see that it was not universally adopted by the members of the League.

But in No. II. the Oropian magistrate is omitted, and the decree is made out in the name of the Archon of the League and of the Priest of Amphiaraos, though neither in form nor import does it at all differ from No. III., being like it a simple decree of *proxenia* granted by the Senate and people of Oropos. Why, again, in the Kalamo decree is the name of the Oropian magistrate omitted?

We require further evidence in order to elucidate this question. Another Oropian decree of *proxenia*, No. IV., commences *Ἱερέως Μένωνος*. Here, therefore, the magistrates of the League and of the city are omitted, and the name of the Priest of Amphiaraos, which stands third in No. III. and second in No. II., is placed alone, as if this functionary was the Eponymous magistrate.

The decrees of *proxenia* made by the *κοινὸν* of Acarnania (Boeckh, No. 1794) present a similar anomaly. Two of them commence *Ἐπὶ ἱεραπόλου τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ακτίῳ*, the third *Ἐπὶ στραταγοῦ*: these decrees are all of the same purport, and being graven on the same

stone, may be presumed to be contemporary or nearly so. It would appear, therefore, that this League had two Eponymous magistrates; one, the στρατηγὸς or chief Civil magistrate; the other, the Priest of Apollo at Actium.

Again, in several of the decrees of Bœotian cities we have at the commencement the name of a Priest associated with that of the Archon, as if they were syneponymous. Cf. No. 1568. *Δαμοιτοίδαο ἄρχοντος, ἱαρείαδδοντος Ἀντιχαριδάο.* No. 1576. *Καλλικράτεος ἄρχοντος, Θεογίτων ἱαρέαδδε.* All these cases of double *eponymia* are explained by Boeckh on the assumption that the name of the Sacerdotal magistrate, whether prefixed singly or jointly, was employed only in those decrees which relate to sacred matters, the Civil magistrate acting as *eponymus* in all other cases. He therefore supposes that in the Acarnanian decrees, when the *proxenia* is granted in the name of the Hierapolos, it was for services rendered in behalf of the religion of the State, and that the other grant of *proxenia* was for civil services.[24] But such a mode of explanation, even if we were to admit it in the cases to which Boeckh has applied it, does not explain the anomaly of the Mavrodhílissi decrees. Neither will it account for those instances of double *eponymia* at Cnidus and elsewhere, which Mr. Stoddart has pointed out in his learned and ingenious Memoir on the Inscribed Pottery of Rhodes. He supposes that in these cases the name of the Sacerdotal magistrate was inscribed

[24] Boeckh, C. I. II. p. 2: cf. I. p. 731 *a*, II. p. 914 *b*, in which latter passage Boeckh is mistaken in supposing that the *prytanis*, rather than the *hiereus*, was the eponymous magistrate of Rhodes: cf. C. I. Nos. 2525 *b*, 2905.

singly, if the tenure of his office was annual, or, during his first year of office, if he served for more than one year. If he occupied the post for a longer period than a year, his name ceased to be a precise date: still it was not the less employed, but that of the chief Civil magistrate, who was never otherwise than annual, was added for the sake of distinctness. The Civil magistrate thus became so far syneponymous, without his relative inferiority to the Sacerdotal magistrate undergoing any change.[25]

This solution of the difficulty is ingenious, and may, perhaps, serve to determine the relation of the *hiereus* in the Mavrodhílissi decrees to the Civil *eponymus;* but it does not explain the difficulties which I have already pointed out with regard to the Archon of the League, why in one decree he is substituted for, and in others associated with, the Archon of individual federal cities.

The mover of the decree No. IV. is Aristomedes, the son of Pirges. In the Kalamo decree, No. 1570, the mover of the decree is Pirges, the son of Archippides. As the name Pirges[26] is not a common one, these two persons may be identical. No. IV. may in this case be a little later in date than No. II., which is of the same epoch as the Kalamo decree.

[25] Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. 2nd series, iv. p. 33: cf. ibid. iii. p. 74. In a Smyrna decree (Boeckh, No. 3137) we have Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἡγησίου, στεφανηφόρου δὲ Πυθοδώρου. Boeckh considers both these magistrates as eponymous, "Uterque eponymus manifesto Smyrnæus est," (C. I. II. p. 699 *b*,) but does not explain why this double *eponymia* was adopted. This would be an example of a sacerdotal *syneponymia*.

[26] According to Osann, Πίργης is the same name as Πίγρης (Boeckh, C. I. p. 751 *b*). Pape, in his 'Wörterbuch,' only cites the Inscription No. 1570, as authority under *Pirges*.

We obtain from these Inscriptions one new name of an Archon of the League, Hipparchos, No. III., and two new names of Priests of Amphiaraos, Demostratos, No. III., and Menon, No. IV. In several places in these decrees τεῖ is substituted for τῇ, and κοινεῖ for κοινῇ. This must be regarded as a relic of the old Bœotian dialect retained in the κοινὴ.[27]

The arguments which have been already used in fixing the date of the Oropian decrees of *proxenia* Nos. II.–VI. may be applied to Inscription No. I., which, as has been already noticed, contains the dedication of an altar. The name of the person who dedicates this altar is Calligeiton, the son of Python. In an inscription, Boeckh, No. 1593, among a list of Bœotarchs we find Python, son of Calligeiton, from Oropos. This inscription being written in the Bœotian dialect is certainly of an earlier date than the Mavrodhílissi altar, while again, from the mention of Oropos as one of the cities of the League, its date cannot be anterior to Olymp. 116. It is probable, therefore, that the Calligeiton on the Mavrodhílissi altar is the son of Python, the Bœotarch. Supposing the inscription in the Bœotian dialect to have been written in Olymp. 120, the altar may have been dedicated by the son of Python, about Olymp. 130. The same name, Calligeiton, occurs in line 2 of Inscription No. III., and the name in the following line is probably that of Python.

The last Inscription which I shall have to notice is the following, which contains a long list of Victors in Musical, Gymnastic, Equestrian and Curule contests.

[27] Compare the Bœotisms pointed out by Boeckh, p. 783 *b*, in an Inscription, No. 1608, written in the κοινὴ.

[ΟΙΔΕ ΕΝΙΚΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΩΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΜΦΙΑΡΑΙΩΝ
ΣΑΛΠΙΣΤΗΣ
Ο ΔΕΙΝΑ
ΚΗΡΥΞ]
. . . . . ΣΤ . . . .
ΕΝΚΩΜΙΩΙ ΕΠΙΚΩΙ
[Δ]ΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ ΑΜΕΙΝΙΟΥ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ
ΡΑΨΩΔΟΣ
ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝ ΣΙΔΟΤΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ
ΕΠΩΝ ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ
ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΥ ΝΕΑΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ
ΑΥΛΗΤΗΣ
ΑΜΙΝΙΑΣ ΧΑΙΡΗΜΟΝΟΣ ΕΧΙΝΑΙΟΣ
ΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ
ΣΩΣΙΜΕΝΗΣ ΗΓΗΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΣΚΑΡΦΕΥΣ
ΚΙΘΑΡΩΔΟΣ
ΕΥΒΙΟΣ ΕΥΒΙΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ
ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ ΣΑΤΥΡΩΝ
ΗΡΑΚΛΙΔΗΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΙΔΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ
ΤΡΑΓΩΔΟΣ

[ΑΝΔΡΑΣ ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ
Ο ΔΕΙΝΑ]
[ΠΑΙΔΑΣ] ΠΕΝΤΑ[ΘΛΟΝ]
. . . . . ΘΗΒΑΙΟ[Σ]
[ΑΓΕΝΕ]ΙΟΥΣ ΠΕΝΤΑΘΛΟΝ
. . . . . ΩΝΟΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ
[ΑΝ]ΔΡΑΣ ΠΕΝΤΑΘΛΟΝ
. . . . . Σ ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥ ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΥΣ
ΠΑΙΔΑΣ ΔΙΑΥΛΟΝ
ΑΥΛΟΣ ΤΙΤΙΝΙΟΣ ΑΥΛΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ
ΑΝΔΡΑΣ ΔΙΑΥΛΟΝ
ΑΝΑΞΙΩΝ ΑΝΑΞΙΩΝΟΣ ΑΡΓΕ[ΙΟΣ]
ΠΑΙΔΑΣ ΙΠΠΙΟΝ
ΙΣΙΔΩΡΟΣ ΙΣΙΔΩΡΟΥ ΘΗΒ[ΑΙΟΣ]
ΑΝΔΡΑΣ ΙΠΠΙΟΝ
ΝΙΚΟΔΑΜΟΣ ΝΙΚΩΝΟΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜ[ΟΝΙΟΣ]
ΠΑΙΔΑΣ ΠΑΛΗΝ
ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΘΕΣΠ[ΙΕΥΣ]
ΑΓΕΝΕΙΟΥΣ ΠΑΛΗΝ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΙΔΑΣ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΕΟΣ ΛΑΚΕ[ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΣ]

ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ
ΚΩΜΩ[Ι]ΔΟΣ
ΙΡΑΝΟΣ ΦΡΥΝΙΔΟΥ ΤΑΝΑΓΡΑΙΟΣ
ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑΣ
ΕΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΜΙΛΗΣΙΟΣ
ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ ΚΩΜΩΔΙΑΣ
ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ ΠΟΣΕΟΥΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ
ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ
ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ
ΠΑΙΔΑΣ ΔΟΛΙΧΟΝ
ΛΕΥΚΙΟΣ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΟΣ ΛΕΥΚΙΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ
ΑΝΔΡΑΣ ΔΟΛΙΧΟΝ
ΟΛΥΜΠΙΧΟΣ ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΥ ΩΡΩΠΙΟΣ
ΠΑΙΔΑΣ ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ
ΙΣΙΔΩΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ
ΑΓΕΝΕΙΟΥ ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ
ΙΩΠΥΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥ ΣΙΚΕΛΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΚΑΤΑΝΗΣ

ΤΠΟΚΡΙΤΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΟΤ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ

ΤΠΟΚΡΙΤΗΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ ΣΙΔΟΤΟΤ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ

ΑΝΔΡΑΣ ΠΑΛΗΝ
ΝΙΚΙΑΣ ΝΙΚΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡ[ΕΥΣ] . . .
ΠΑΙΔΑΣ ΠΑΛΗΝ
ΑΓΕΝΕΙΟΥΣ ΠΥΓΜΗΝ
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΥΣ
ΑΝΔΡΑΣ ΠΥΓΜΗΝ
ΕΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΕΟΥ ΩΡΩΠΙΟΣ
ΠΑΙΔΑΣ ΠΑΓΚΡΑΤΙΟΝ
ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΘΕΣΠΙΕΥΣ
ΑΓΕΝΕΙΟΥΣ ΠΑΓΚΡΑΤΙΟΝ
ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΥΣ
ΑΝΔΡΑΣ ΠΑΓΚΡΑΤΙΟΝ
ΕΥΦΑΝΗΣ ΣΩΙΛΟΥ ΩΡΩΠ[ΙΟΣ]
ΤΟΝ ΟΠΛΕΙΤΗΝ
ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕ[ΥΣ]
ΣΥΝΩΡΙΔΙ ΠΩΛΙΚΗ
ΑΓΛΑΩΝ ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΥΕΤΤΙΟΣ

[Οἱ δὲ νικῶν τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ἀμφιαραΐων

Σαλπιστὴς

Ὁ δεῖνα

Κήρυξ]

. . . . . στ . . . .

Ἐγκωμίῳ Ἐπικῷ

Δημοκλῆς Ἀμεινίου Θηβαῖος

Ῥαψῳδὸς

Ἀρτέμων Σιδότου Ἀθηναῖος

Ἐπῶν ποιητὴς

Ἀγαθοκλῆς Θεοδοσίου Νεαπολίτης

Αὐλητὴς

Ἀμινίας Χαιρήμονος Ἐχιναῖος

Κιθαριστὴς

Σωσιμένης Ἡγησιμάχου Σκαρφεὺς

Κιθαρῳδὸς

Εὔβιος Εὐβίου Ἀθηναῖος

Ποιητὴς Σατύρων

Ἡρακλίδης Ἡρακλίδου Ἀθηναῖος

Τραγῳδὸς

[Ἄνδρας στάδιον

Ὁ δεῖνα]

Παῖδας πέντα[θλον]

. . . . . Θηβαῖο[ς]

[Ἀγενε]ίους πένταθλον

. . . . . ωνος Θηβαῖος

[Ἄν]δρας πένταθλον

. . . . . ς Διογένου Χαλκιδεὺς

Παῖδας δίαυλον

Αὔλος Τιτίνιος Αὔλου Ῥωμαῖος

Ἄνδρας δίαυλον

Ἀναξίων Ἀναξίωνος Ἀργε[ῖος]

Παῖδας Ἵππιον

Ἰσίδωρος Ἰσιδώρου Θηβ[αῖος]

Ἄνδρας Ἵππιον

Νικοδάμος Νίκωνος Λακεδαιμ[όνιος]

Παῖδας πάλην

Σώστρατος Νικηφόρου Θεσπ[ιεὺς]

Ἀγενείους πάλην

Ἀριστοκλείδας Σωκράτεος Λακε[δαιμόνιος]

Ἐπίνικος Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀθηναῖος
Κωμῳδὸς
Ἴρανος Φρυνίδου Ταναγραῖος
Ποιητὴς Τραγῳδίας
Ἑρμοκράτης Ἀλεξάνδρου Μιλήσιος
Ποιητὴς Κωμῳδίας
Ἀρίστων Ποσέους Ἀθηναῖος
Ἐπινίκιον
Ἐπίνικος Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀθηναῖος
Παῖδας δόλιχον
Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Λευκίου υἱὸς
Ἄνδρας δόλιχον
Ὀλύμπιχος Τιμάρχου Ὠρώπιος
Παῖδας στάδιον
Ἰσίδωρος Θεοκλέους Θηβαῖος
Ἀγενείου στάδιον (sic)
Ζώπυρος Ἑρμογένου, Σικελὸς ἀπὸ Κατάνης
Ἄνδρας πάλην
Νικίας Νικίου Πατρ[εὺς]
Παῖδας πάλην
Ἀγενείους πύγμην
Ὑποκριτὴς Χαρίας Χαρίου Ἀθηναῖος — Πτολεμαῖος Ἡλιοδώρου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς
Ἄνδρας πύγμην
Ὑποκριτὴς Στράτων Σιδότου Ἀθηναῖος — Εὐκράτης Πρωτέου Ὠρώπιος
Παῖδας παγκράτιον
Σώστρατος Νικηφόρου Θεσπιεὺς
Ἀγενείους παγκράτιον
Πτολεμαῖος Ἡλιοδώρου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς
Ἄνδρας παγκράτιον
Εὐφάνης Ζωΐλου Ὠρώπ[ιος]
Τὸν Ὁπλείτην
Ἀγαθοκλῆς Πτολεμαίου Χαλκιδε[ὺς]
Ξυνωρίδι πωλικῇ
Ἀγλάων Διοδώρου Τέττιος.

The heading of this inscription having been broken off from the top of the slab, we have to supply from conjecture the name of the Agonistic festival here recorded. As we are told, however, by the Scholiast on Pindar, that according to Didymos there were games in honour of Amphiaraos at Oropos,[28] we may fairly presume that the lists of Victors in these contests were preserved in his Temple, and I have therefore restored the missing lines on this supposition, and after the form of another similar inscription.[29] The use of the later dialect, κοινὴ, the mention of Alexandria, the occurrence of two Roman names, Aulus Titinius and Lucius Valerius, and the character of the palæography in this inscription, are proofs that it must be posterior to the time of Alexander the Great, but we may fix its date with greater accuracy.

In the first column we find the name of Demokles, the son of Ameinias, from Thebes, author of an Epic Encomion. In an inscription found at Orchomenos,[30] which gives a list of Victors in the Charitesia, or games in honour of the Graces, we find Ameinias, the son of Demokles, from Thebes, an Epic and Satyric poet. One of these poets was evidently the son of

[28] Πολλοὶ δ' ἄγονται ἀγῶνες ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ . . . ἐν δὲ Βοιωτίᾳ ἐν μὲν Θεσπιαῖς Ἐρώτια, ἐν δὲ ταῖς Πλαταιαῖς τὰ Ἐλευθέρια . . . ὁδὲ Δίδυμος φησὶ καὶ Ἀμφιαράϊα ἐν Ὠρωπῷ. Schol. Pind. vii. 153, as cited by K. F. Hermann, Lehrbuch d. Gottesdienstl. Alterth. Heidelb. 1846, p. 331, § 63, 1.

[29] Boeckh, C. I. No. 1584.

[30] Ibid. Two other inscriptions relating to the Charitesia are known; one, C. I. No. 1583; the other discovered in a monastery at Orchomenos, and published by Ussing, (Inscript. Græc. Ined. Havn. 1847, pp. 42–3, No. 53,) which appears to be of the same period as No. 1584.

the other: the names Demokles and Ameinias must have recurred alternately in successive generations, according to a very usual practice in Hellenic families. The interval in date between the two inscriptions must therefore have been but a few years; indeed, their general resemblance in form is such, that at first sight they would appear to be contemporary. But the Orchomenos Inscription has been assigned by Boeckh, on very satisfactory internal evidence, to about Olymp. 145. The Mavrodhílissi Inscription is therefore either a little earlier or a little later in date, according as we consider Demokles, the author of an Encomion, to be father or son of Ameinias the Satyric and Epic poet.

The cities of the Bœotian League were remarkable for the number of their Agonistic festivals, and Archæology has rescued from oblivion the lists of the Victors in several of these *panegyres*. Records of the Charitesia, Homoloia, Musea, and probably Erotidia, have been preserved to us in inscriptions.[31]

The list of Victories in the Amphiaraia, found at Mavrodhílissi, adds one more to the series already published.

In this inscription the musical and poetical precede the gymnastic contests, the horse-races, and the chariot-races. Such was the general order in the Pythian, probably of the other Pan-Hellenic Games,[32] and we find it always maintained in the lists recorded in the inscriptions published by Boeckh. The order

[31] Boeckh, C. I. Nos. 1583–6, 1590.

[32] Krause, Hellenika, Leipsic, 1841. II. pt. 2, p. 41. Compare, *ibid.* I. § 2, p. 13. The Quinquennalia, instituted by Nero in imitation of the Greek festivals, consisted in like manner of Musical, Gymnastic, and Equestrian contests.

of the Victors in the musical and poetical contests varies slightly in different inscriptions, but may be arranged for the most part in the following groups: first come the Trumpeter, *Salpistes*, and Herald, *Keryx*; then the *Encomion*, or Panegyric poem; then the Epic poet and the *Rhapsodos*, or reciter of Epic poetry. Then the *Auletes*, or flute-player, and the *Aulœdos*, or singer, to the accompaniment of the flute; after these come the *Kitharistes*, or player on the lyre, and the *Kitharœdos*, or singer, to the accompaniment of the lyre. These two pairs are followed by the *Tragœdos* and *Komœdos*, after whom come the Tragic poet, *Ποιητὴς Τραγῳδίας*, and the Comic poet, *Ποιητὴς Κωμῳδίας*, with their respective actors, *ὑποκριταὶ*, and the Satyric poet, *Ποιητὴς Σατύρου*, *Σατυρόγραφος*.[33] In several of the lists the Epinikion or Triumphal Ode occupies the last place.[34]

Such was the general arrangement of the musical and poetical contests, and no order could be more appropriate and natural. The contests of the trumpeters and heralds were the prelude to the whole; then came the Encomion, a poem which always probably had for its theme the Deity in honour of whom the games were held.[35] Then followed the three great classes of Greek poetry, ranged in the same order in which they succeed each other chronologically in the History of Greek Literature.

[33] In the Amphiaraia and in the Charitesia, No. 1584, the Satyric poet precedes the Comic and Tragic poets; in the Musea, No. 1585, he follows them.

[34] Boeckh, C. I. Nos. 1583, 1584.

[35] Ibid. No. 1585. *Ἐγκωμιογράφος εἰς τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα, ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἰούσας*, in a list of Victors in the Musea, styled Musea Cæsarea,—No. 1586.

If, as is probable, the Epinikion commemorated the victories gained in the preceding year, its place would more naturally be after the dramatic contests, where we find it, than in the preceding group of lyrical contests. It would thus form a suitable termination to the whole series of musical and poetical entertainments.

It will be seen, by an examination of the Mavrodhílissi list, that after the Satyric poet come the *Tragœdos* and *Komœdos;* after this pair again, the Tragic poet, *Ποιητὴς Τραγῳδίας*, and the Comic poet, *Ποιητὴς Κωμῳδίας*, with their respective actors, *ὑποκριταὶ*, added in the margin. The *Tragœdos* and *Komœdos* are thus clearly distinguished from the tragic and comic poets and the regular actors. In an inscription commemorating the victories in the Musea,[36] this difference is more strongly marked. The *Komœdos* and *Tragœdos* are there described respectively as the *Komœdos* of the old Comedy, *Κωμῳδὸς παλαιᾶς Κωμῳδίας*, the *Tragœdos* of the old Tragedy, *Τραγῳδὸς παλαιᾶς Τραγῳδίας*. On comparing the list of Victories in the Musea with those in two other inscriptions, we find the following correspondence:

Charitesia, No. 1584.	*Amphiaraia.*	*Musea*, No. 1585.
Τραγῳδὸς	Τραγῳδὸς	Κωμῳδὸς παλαιᾶς κωμῳδίας
Κωμῳδὸς	Κωμῳδὸς	Τραγῳδος παλαιᾶς τραγῳδίας
Ποιητὴς Σατύρων	Ποιητὴς Τραγῳδίας	. . . . .
Ὑποκριτὴς	Ὑποκριτὴς	. . . . .
Ποιητὴς Τραγῳδιῶν	Ποιητὴς Κωμῳδίας	Ποιητὴς καινῆς κωμῳδίας
Ὑποκριτὴς	Ὑποκριτὴς	Ὑποκριτὴς καινῆς κωμῳδίας
Ποιητὴς Κωμῳδιῶν		Ποιητὴς καινῆς τραγῳδίας
Ὑποκριτὴς		Ὑποκριτὴς καινῆς τραγῳδίας.

[36] Boeckh, C. I. No. 1585.

From the collation of these three lists, it seems probable that the one relating to the Musea exhibits the fuller form of entry, and that the additional words which it contains ought to be added to the other two lists. Boeckh had already arrived at this conclusion from a collation of the lists in Nos. 1584, 1585: the Mavrodhîlissi Inscription may be regarded as a parallel passage, which, by extending the comparison, affords a valuable corroboration of his argument. It may be further remarked that this inscription and that relating to the Charitesia are of a much earlier period than the list of Victors in the Musea, which is of the time of the Roman Empire. This circumstance may account for the difference in the form of entry.

In the inscriptions of the Imperial period we find a general tendency to fill up the ellipses of the earlier Greek inscriptions, and to paraphrase that admired brevity which to any but Hellenic readers would in many cases be somewhat obscure. If we admit that the *Tragœdos* and *Komœdos* of the Musea are perfectly identical with the *Tragœdos* and *Komœdos* of the Amphiaraia and Charitesia, what then is meant by the ancient comedy and tragedy as opposed to the καινὴ. From the evidence of the three inscriptions we see that the ancient tragedy and comedy required only a single performer, whereas the καινὴ was composed by a poet, and then performed by an actor, ὑποκριτὴς. From this circumstance Boeckh argues, with justice, that the *Tragœdos* and *Komœdos* did not exhibit regular dramas, but recited Odes or Songs of a dramatic character, called "ancient," because it was out of such lyrical compositions that the regular

drama was originally developed by the labours of successive poets from Thespis to Æschylus.

Thus the ancient tragedy and comedy would be, so to speak, a kind of lyrical drama, of which the composer and chanter were one and the same person. Hence, in these inscriptions, the *Tragœdos* and *Komœdos* immediately follow the *Aulœdos* and *Kitharœdos*, thus forming the connecting link between the purely Lyrical and the purely Dramatical, between the bard who chanted or recited his own compositions and the poet who employed another person to do this for him.

The lyrical character of the *Komœdos* and *Tragœdos* is further proved by the expression, *τὰ ἐπινίκια Κωμάϝδος*, in the older Charitesian inscription, Boeckh, No. 1583, *i. e.* "the chanter of Comic Epinikia."

In support of the theory which has been here stated, Boeckh has collected the few scattered passages relative to the origin of the Greek Drama which are to be found in ancient authors.[37] All tradition agrees in deriving both tragedy and comedy from choral and lyrical sources. Thus we are told that there was a period when tragedy was entirely choral, that it was originally an extempore performance delivered by the leaders of the Dithyrambos or Dionysiac Choros: Herodotus speaks of tragic chori at Sicyon of very ancient date,[38] and the Sicyonians and Peloponnesians generally are said to have been the inventors of tragedy, which was subsequently perfected by the Athenian poets. Arion, again, the most celebrated of the early Lyric poets, is said to have

[37] Boeckh, C. I. p. 765 *b*. [38] V. 67.

been the inventor of the "Tragic mode," *Τραγικοῦ Τρόπου*, by which is probably meant that he imparted to the Dionysiac chorus a more dramatic character. I am not aware whether it has ever been remarked that in modern Greek the original meaning of *Τραγωδία* may be still recognized. *Τραγοῦδι* means any "song," and *Τραγουδῶ* "to sing" generally.

I have already noticed the expression, *Komœdos* of Epinikia, in a list of Victors in the Charitesia, No. 1583, which, being written in the Bœotian dialect, is decidedly earlier in date than the Mavrodhílissi or Orchomenian Inscriptions. This *Komœdos* of Epinikia is placed immediately after the *Tragœdos* and *Komœdos*, and there is no mention either of dramatic poets or of actors, an omission which, if we may trust the negative evidence of a single inscription, indicates the probable era when the regular drama was introduced into these Bœotian games. The innovation must have been before Olymp. 145, the presumed date of the Orchomenian Inscription, and most probably took place during that period of Greek history, which was pre-eminently distinguished for restless love of novelty and boldness of invention, the age of Alexander the Great. The same century which witnessed the marvellous revolution in Greek music wrought by Timotheus, probably allowed the ancient simplicity of the public festivals to be embellished and corrupted by the introduction of new and motley elements. Plutarch, in speaking of the Pythian Games, refers back to a primitive period when the dramatic element was altogether wanting in these contests. The original performers in this great Pan-Hellenic festival, he tells us, were the Pythian *Auletes*, the *Kitharistes*, and the

Kitharœdos;—"after they had added to these the *Tragœdos* (not the tragic poet, but the bard of lyrical tragedy), it was as though a door was opened, and they no longer resisted the introduction of other entertainments for the ear, thrust into the series without selection, and brought together from all manner of heterogeneous sources."[39]

In the absence of more direct information as to the period when these changes took place in the Pythian Games, the collateral evidence of the Bœotian Inscriptions cannot be too much studied. If the new fashions introduced into the great Delphic *panegyris* were adopted contemporaneously by the local *panegyres* in its immediate neighbourhood, it follows, that if we can ascertain the number and order of the contests in the Charitesia or Amphiaraia at a particular period, we may infer that in the Pythian Games at the same period a corresponding order was probably observed. As every metropolis forms a centre of imitation for the surrounding provinces, so the four great festivals of the Hellenic world probably served as models for many of the minor *panegyres* in their immediate neighbourhood.

It would be most interesting if we could identify, among the Victors in the Poetical and Musical contests of the Amphiaraia, names previously recorded in Greek Literature, but I have not succeeded in recognizing any, except, perhaps, those of Epinikos and

[39] Quæst. Symp. v. 2. *Παραδεξάμενοι γὰρ ἐπὶ τρισὶ τοῖς καθεστῶσιν ἐξαρχῆς, αὐλητῇ Πυθικῷ καὶ Κιθαριστῇ καὶ Κιθαρῳδῷ, τὸν τράγωδον, ὥσπερ πύλης ἀνοιχθείσης, οὐκ ἄντεσχον ἀθρόοις σύνεπιτιθεμένοις καὶ συνεισιοῦσι παντοδαποῖς ἀκροάμασι κ. τ. λ.*, as cited by Hermann, Lehrbuch d. Gottesd. Alterthuml. § 50, 12.

Herakleides. Epinikos, the *tragœdos*, and author of the Epinikion in the Amphiaraia, may be the Athenian Comic poet, who, as is proved by the title of some of his plays, lived in the time of Antiochos the Great, Olymp. 140, 4.[40] The Epinikos of the Mavrodhílissi Inscription is called an Athenian, son of Alexander; and in the Orchomenian Inscription, No. 1584, which I have shown to be of the same period, we find an Alexander, son of Aristion, from Athens, entered as a Comic poet, and Comic poet of Epinikia in the Charitesia and Homoloia. This may be the father of the Epinikos, son of Alexander, who occurs in the Mavrodhílissi Inscription. On this supposition the Mavrodhílissi Inscription would be a little subsequent to the one from Orchomenos, and the Demokles of the Amphiaraia would be the son of the Ameinias who obtained the Victory in the Charitesia.

Herakleides, the son of Herakleides from Athens, entered in the Mavrodhílissi Inscription as a Satyric poet, may be a descendant from that Herakleides who is identified by Meineke with a Comic poet called by Athenæus Herakleitos, and who lived about the time of Philip of Macedon.[41] It must be borne in mind, that among the Greeks the profession of poet was an hereditary craft, its traditional rules being handed down like the Arts of Medicine, Sculpture, or Painting, from father to son.[42] It is always, therefore, worth while to note any coincidences which may lead to the tracing out of a genealogy of this kind: thus,

[40] See the authorities cited in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography. *Epinicus.*

[41] Smith's Dict. of Biography. *Heraclitus.*

[42] As in the case of the family of Sophocles.

Ariston, the Comic poet of the Amphiaraia, may be a grandson of the Ariston mentioned by Athenæus[43] as a Comic actor in the time of Alexander the Great.

The list of Musical and Poetical contests in the Mavrodhílissi Inscription presents several other peculiarities. The Encomion is called an Epic Encomion. I am not aware of any other instance in which this epithet is applied to the Encomion.[44] The names of the two *ὑποκριταὶ* are inserted in the margin in smaller characters, as if they were marginal additions. In the other lists they are entered in their order in the column. One of the *ὑποκριταὶ* in the Amphiaraia is placed opposite the Comic poet, and the second lower down, opposite the author of the Epinikia, but there can be no doubt that Charias, the upper name of the two, is the Actor of the Tragic poet, and Straton, who is placed opposite to the Epinikion, belongs to the Comic poet. After the Musical and Poetical contests in the Amphiaraia, follow the Gymnastic, Equestrian, and Curule Victories. The order of the several contests is for the most part the same as that in which they are arranged in the other Agonistic lists published by Boeckh. First come the different kinds of foot-races, *Dolichos*, *Stadion*, *Diaulos*. Then the *Pentathlon*, *Pale*, *Pygme*, *Pankration*, *Hoplites Dromos*, and lastly, the Equestrian and Curule Games. In the Mavrodhílissi In-

[43] xii. p. 538 *e*.

[44] Boeckh, C. I. i. p. 768 *a*, considers the *ἐγκώμιον* as a lyric poem, and remarks that in No. 1585 the *ποίημα εἰς τὰς Μούσας* is opposed to the *ἐγκώμιον εἰς Μούσας*, and the *ποιητὴς εἰς τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα* to the *ἐγκωμιογράφος εἰς τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα*, which proves that the *encomion* was generally distinct from the Epic poem. Cf. C. I. No. 245.

scription the insertion of the Pentathlon between the Stadion and Diaulos is unusual. Immediately after the *Δίαυλος* follows the *Ἵππιος*, which must be the *δίαυλος ἵππιος*, the word *δίαυλος* being omitted, as in a Panathenaic Inscription published by Boeckh.[45] In an Arcadian Inscription (Boeckh, No. 1515) we have the analogous form *δόλιχος ἵππιος*. Boeckh remarks, that in this inscription the mention of *ἄνδρες* makes it impossible that the *δόλιχος ἵππιος* can be a horse-race. He therefore supposes that this equestrian *dolichos* was a longer course than the ordinary *dolichos*. For the same reason, and from its place at the end of the foot-races, we must consider the equestrian *diaulos* of the Amphiaraia and the Panathenæan Inscription to be a longer course than the ordinary *diaulos*: it would be thus identified with the *δρόμος ἵππιος* mentioned by Pausanias as one of the contests at the Nemean Games.[46] Boeckh supposes the successive lengths of the foot-race to have been as follows:

Stadium or *Δρόμος*	= One length of the course.
Δίαυλος	= Two lengths.
Δίαυλος Ἵππιος (*δρόμος ἵππιος*)	= Four lengths.
Δόλιχος	= Seven lengths.
Δόλιχος Ἵππιος . .	= Twenty-four lengths.[47]

The primary classification in this list is according to the different kinds of contests, the Victors being sub-

[45] Annali dell' Inst. Arch. di Rom. 1829, p. 165, et seq. We get the full form, *δίαυλος ἵππιος*, Eurip. Elect. 824, as cited by Hermann, Lehrbuch d. Gott. Alt. p. 143, § 30, 26.

[46] vi. 16, 4. Compare Plut. Solon, 23, *ἱππικὸς*,—Plato, Legg. viii. p. 833 B, *ἐφίππιος δρόμος*, though others have identified this latter with the *δόλιχος ἵππιος*. See Hermann, Lehr. Gottesd. Alterth. § 30, 30.

[47] Boeckh, C. I. I. p. 703.

arranged according to their ages under each contest in three classes,—as boys, *παῖδες*, beardless youths, *ἀγένειοι*, and men, *ἄνδρες*. This is the arrangement adopted in a list of Athenian Games, the Philadelphia, (Boeckh, No. 245,) where the three ages are indicated by the letters *A*, *B*, *Γ*, and in the Bœotian Inscriptions, Nos. 1584—7. The same general principle is adopted in the Athenian Inscription, No. 232, and the Chian, No. 2214, the subarrangement according to ages being different. In the Athenian Inscription the Victors are either men or boys, these latter being subdivided into three ages, *τῆς πρώτης*, *τῆς δευτέρας*, *τῆς τρίτης ἡλικίας*. The third of these subdivisions Boeckh considers to be the same as the *ἀγένειοι*. In the Chian Inscription the Victors consist of *παῖδες*, *ἔφηβοι*, *ἄνδρες*, the Ephebi being divided into *νεωτέροι*, *μέσοι*, *πρεσβοτέροι*. In two Bœotian lists, Nos. 1590, 1591, supposed by Boeckh to relate to the Erotidia, the primary classification is according to ages, in three classes, *παῖδες*, *ἀγένειοι*, and *ἄνδρες*, under each of which the different contests are subarranged. This is also the order in the Aphrodeisian Games (Boeckh, No. 2758). In No. 1590 the *παῖδες* are further subdivided into *νεωτέροι*, called also *νέοι* and *πρεσβοτέροι*.

From the internal evidence of the several Mavrodhílissi Inscriptions, I have shown that we may thus approximate to their respective dates:

No. I. may be placed between Olymp. 116 and Olymp. 145, perhaps about Olymp. 130.

No. III. Between Olymp. 130 and Olymp. 156.

No. IV. Same period, rather later.

Nos. II. V. VI. Same date, *circiter*.

No. VII. Olymp. 145, or rather later.

We are therefore justified in assuming that all these inscriptions belong to the second century B. C.

It remains for me to give some account of the Amphiaraion itself. The name of Amphiaraos is one very celebrated in the Mythic history of Bœotia. He was distinguished both as a hero and a soothsayer, and was one of the seven chiefs who led the war against Thebes. On the defeat of this expedition he fled from Thebes pursued by Periclymenos, and, before his enemy could overtake him the earth opened and swallowed him up, together with his chariot, but Zeus made him immortal, and he was worshipped after his death with divine honours.[48] Traditions differ as to the precise spot where he disappeared in the earth. According to one account it was in the neighbourhood of Thebes, at a place called Knopia, where originally stood a temple in honour of Amphiaraos.[49] We learn from Pausanias that this spot was on the road from Thebes to Potniæ. He found here a small

[48] Smith, Dict. of Biography. *Amphiaraos.* At Skala, near Mavrodhílissi, was found a bas-relief representing a figure in a chariot, thought by Welcker to be Amphiaraos at the moment before being engulphed in the earth. See Ann. dell' Inst. Arch. di Rom. iv. p. 172. Monum. dell' Inst. iv. Tav. 5.

[49] Strabo, ix. p. 404, Ἐκ Κνωπίας δὲ τῆς Θηβαϊκῆς μεθιδρυμένον δεῦρο τὸ Ἀμφιάρειον. Sophocles seems to favour this tradition,—

> Ἐδέξατο ῥαγεῖσα Θηβαία κόνις
> Αὐτοῖσιν ὅπλοις καὶ τετρωρίστῳ δίφρῳ,

though Strabo quotes these lines in speaking of the Oropian Amphiaraion (ix. p. 399.) For the situation of Knopia, see Leake's 'Travels in Northern Greece,' iv. p. 577. The Scholiast on Pindar, cited by Welcker, Ann. dell' Inst. Rom. iv. p. 172, says of Amphiaraos, κατεπόθη οἱ μὲν περὶ Ὠρωπὸν, οἱ δὲ περὶ Κλεωνὰς, which, as Welcker remarks, is probably a false reading for Κνοπίαν.

enclosure (*περίβολος*), within which were columns.[50] There was also a place called Harma, or 'the Chariot,' on the road from Thebes to Chalcis. Here, according to one legend, the empty chariot of Amphiaraos arrived after he had fallen from it in battle: according to another myth, the place was named after the chariot of his companion in arms, Adrastos, which was here broken in pieces in his flight. There was also a place of the same name in Attica, called also the baths of Amphiaraos, *Λουτρὰ Ἀμφιαράου*.[51] Still more celebrated than any of these sites was the Amphiaraion near Oropos. Here was a temple and oracle of the hero, which, according to Strabo, had been transferred to this spot from Knopia.[52] We learn from Pausanias that the temple contained the statue of Amphiaraos in white marble, and an altar divided into several parts, one sacred to Herakles, Zeus, and Apollo Pæonios,—a second to the heroes and their wives,—a third to Vesta, Hermes, and to Amphilochos alone of all the children of Amphiaraos,—a fourth to Aphrodite, Panakeia, Jaso, Hygieia, Athene Pæonia,—a fifth to the Nymphs, to Pan, and to the rivers Acheloos and Kephissos.[53]

Amphiaraos was regarded as a god: sick persons

[50] ix. § 3.

[51] Pausan. ix. 19; Strabo, ix. p. 404; Steph. Byzant. v. *Ἅρμα*.

[52] Strabo, ix. p. 399. *Εἶτα Ψαφὶς ἡ τῶν Ὠρωπίων· ἐνταῦθα δὲ που καὶ τὸ Ἀμφιάρειον ἐστι τετιμημένον ποτὲ μαντεῖον.* Cf. ibid. p. 404. *Καὶ ἡ Γραῖα τόπος Ὠρωποῦ πλησίον, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου . . . .*

[53] Pausan. i. 34. Most of the divine and heroic personages in this list were endowed with the gift of healing, which explains why they were thus associated with Amphiaraos as *Θεοὶ συμβώμοι*. Jaso was the daughter of Amphiaraos, as we learn from the Schol. on Aristoph. Plut. 701. Hesych. s. v.

sought counsel from his oracle for the treatment of their maladies. In these consultations the following ceremonies were observed. The consultant, after undergoing lustration in honour of Amphiaraos and of the other divinities to whom the altar was dedicated, sacrificed a ram to Amphiaraos, and lying down on its skin awaited the revelations made to him in dreams.[54] This mode of consultation, called by the ancients *ἐγκοίμησις*, *incubatio*, was practised in many temples of deities and heroes to whom the gift of healing was attributed, as for instance, in the temples of Æsculapius at Epidauros and elsewhere, the *heroa* of Calchas and of Podalirios in Apulia, the Plutonium at Nysa.[55] Near the Amphiaraion was a spring called the fountain of Amphiaraos. This was not employed for sacrificial uses, nor for lustrations, but when any person had been relieved from disease by consulting the oracle he threw into the spring gold and silver coins.[56] There were also medicinal baths at the *temenos*, which Livy describes as agreeably situated in the midst of fountains and brooks.[57] The Amphiaraion, according to

[54] Pausan. i. 34.

[55] K. F. Hermann, Lehrbuch d. Gottesdienstl. Alterth. p. 203, § 41.

[56] *Ἐστὶ δὲ Ὠρωπίοις πηγὴ πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ, ἣν Ἀμφιαράου καλοῦσιν, οὔτε θύοντες οὐδὲν εἰς αὐτὴν, οὐτ' ἐπὶ καθαρσίοις ἢ χερνίβι χρῆσθαι νομίζοντες· νόσου δὲ ἀκεσθείσης ἄνδρι μαντεύματος γενομένου, καθέστηκεν ἄργυρον ἀφεῖναι καὶ χρυσὸν ἐπίσημον εἰς τὴν πηγήν.* Pausan. i. 34.

[57] xlv. 27. "Inde Oropum Atticæ ventum est, ubi pro Deo vates Amphilochos colitur, templumque vetustum est fontibus rivisque circa amœnis." For 'Amphilochos' Livy should have written 'Amphiaraos' n this passage. Cf. Athen. ii. 95, and Euphorion ap. Steph. Byzant. v. *Ὠρωπὸς*.

Αὐλίς τ' Ὠρωπός τε καὶ Ἀμφιάρεια λοετρά.

Pausanias, was distant about 12 stadia from Oropos,[58] and Strabo places it somewhere near a place called Psaphis. Dicæarchos describes it as situated near the sea, on the high road between Athens and Oropos. The distance from Athens was a day's journey for an active walker: the road as it approached the Amphiaraion passed through laurel groves, and in the time of Dicæarchos the fatigue of the journey was agreeably relieved by the number of inns and halting-places for travellers by the wayside.[59]

It is interesting to find how much illustration these statements of ancient authors receive from an examination of the actual site. The *temenos*, as I have already stated, is situated in a picturesque ravine, the sides of which, narrowing as they approach the sea, present the appearance of a chasm in the earth, and these strongly marked physical features probably suggested the belief that it was here that the flying Amphiaraos disappeared.

Αὐτοῖσιν ὅπλοις καὶ τετρωρίστῳ δίφρῳ.

The secluded character of this glen and the beauty of the scenery would present many attractions to the invalid,[60] and, doubtless, like the temples of Æsculapius and of other healing divinities, this *temenos* must have served in antiquity as a kind of hospital

[58] i. 34.

[59] Dicæarch. Stat. Gr. p. 11.

[60] The picturesque character of the spot and the abundance of fresh water seem expressed in the dedication of part of the altar to Pan, the Nymphs, and the two rivers. Pan and the Nymphs are often associated together in bas-reliefs and inscriptions in grottoes, and their union doubtless typifies the wild rocky scenery and the springs of water in such localities.

and watering-place. Following the course of the brook, I found near the *temenos* a fountain, which is probably the one mentioned by Pausanias, into which the pieces of money were thrown by those who had been cured. Close to this fountain I found a statue in white marble, lying across the bed of the brook, the shoulders towards the middle of the stream. It represents a male figure clad in a talaric *chiton*, over which is a *peplos*, which he is throwing over the left shoulder, with an action very usual in representations of Muses; on the feet are sandals. The statue is of fine workmanship and its surface is well preserved, but the head and both arms are gone. Under the base is a square socket, in which an iron clamp has been inserted to fasten the figure to its pedestal. This is probably the identical statue of Amphiaraos himself which Pausanias mentions.[61] I was assured, by Greek peasants on the spot, that but a short time ago the whole of the inscribed blocks which I found lying on the ground had been thrown down from their original places. They appear, from the accounts of these peasants, to have been anciently piled up so as to form some kind of structure, the joints being united by clamps of lead which were melted by the villagers when the blocks were thrown down. It is probable that this *temenos* was once very rich in inscriptions, for many fragments have been used in the construction of houses at Kalamo and Mavrodhílissi.[62] Two of the

[61] Another statue of Amphiaraos was seen by Pausanias at Athens (i. 8).

[62] In your 'Travels in Northern Greece' (ii. p. 440, et seq.) you mention a piece of cornice found at Kalamo, on which was the inscription ΤΟΣ ΑΜΦΙ, in large well-formed characters of the best

inscriptions discovered at Kalamo have been already cited in the course of this letter; both are decrees of Oropo, one relating to a *proxenia*, the other ordering that some of the silver vessels belonging to the Amphiaraion be repaired, and other vessels made by melting down old votive offerings consisting of plate and coined money.[63]

A curious inventory of the objects melted down is annexed to the decree. Among these metallic offerings are hands, breasts, faces, and other parts of the human body, dedicated by those who had been cured of diseases by means of the oracle,—just such offerings as may be seen executed in marble in the Sculpture Gallery of the British Museum. The inventory contains a number of tetradrachms and other coins, which appear from the decree to have been originally fastened on the *anathemata*. To this day both kinds of votive offering may be seen in the Greek churches in the Archipelago, in which Turkish coins are attached with wax to the pictures of the Panagia or other Saint, and votive silver arms or such like objects hung round to record some marvellous cure. I have already shown that some of the pieces of money offered by the convalescent at the Amphiaraion were thrown into the fountain of the *temenos*, and thence of course collected by the priests and placed in the treasury of the god. I made inquiry for inscriptions at Kalamo, but was told that there were none there at present,[64]

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time. On another piece of the same cornice, found at Mavrodhílissi, you found the letters ΛΕΙ. Probably, as you suggest, the whole inscription ran thus: ΛΕΙΤΟΣ ΑΜΦΙ.

[63] Boeckh. C. I. No. 1570.

[64] I should mention, however, that the very bad state of the

but that a Kephaloniote, named Balsomachi, had bought all that could be found in the village and taken them away. I was informed that this person was the agent of a Russian prince in Negropont, and that he has written an account of Mavrodhílissi. The inscriptions now remaining at the Amphiaraion were recently thrown down in order to be used as building materials, and the peasants spoke of their speedy destruction as a very probable event. It is greatly to be regretted that so interesting a collection of inscriptions as must have once existed at Mavrodhílissi should have been allowed to perish. The Amphiaraion contained probably all the archives of the city of Oropos, besides lists of the Victors in the Amphiaraia during a series of years. On my return to Athens I endeavoured to call the attention of the Greek Government to the precarious state of these interesting remains, through the influence of the British minister, Mr. Wyse, and that of Professor Rangabé;[65] and I trust that, through the

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weather did not allow me to make any proper search for inscriptions either at Kalamo or at Mavrodhílissi. The inscriptions here published were hurriedly copied in the intervals between heavy showers, which must be my excuse if the copies are not found to be perfectly exact.

[65] Immediately after my visit to Mavrodhílissi, I furnished copies of all the inscriptions there to Professor Rangabé at his special request, in order that they might be inserted in the forthcoming volume of his 'Antiquités Helléniques.' While this memoir is passing through the press, I have learned that the inscriptions in uestion have been already published in the Berichte d. K. Sachs. esell. d. Wissen. zu Leipsic, in a memoir by M. Preller, Philogisch-Hist. Classe, Leipsic, 1853, pp. 140–188. In this memoir [. Preller states, that these inscriptions were communicated to him r M. Rangabé, *for whom they were copied by an English traveller!* i I am the traveller alluded to by M. Preller, I beg to state for his

representations which have since been made on this subject, proper steps have been taken for the preservation of the inscriptions. It would be a labour well worthy of an enlightened government to excavate the whole site of the Amphiaraion, which, being situated in a secluded spot, has probably never been much disturbed below the surface of the soil; but so little encouragement is given to archæological enterprize in Greece, and so many favourable opportunities for excavations have been lost for ever, that I am unwilling to indulge in the hope that Mavrodhílissi will be more favoured than Delphi, Elis, Corinth, and other celebrated localities, which ought to have been long since explored.

I remain, &c. &c. &c.

C. T. Newton.

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information, and also as a hint for future English travellers who may visit Athens, that I did not copy the inscriptions at Mavrodhílissi for M. Rangabé, but for the benefit of Archæologists generally, and that I gave him copies of them only on the ground that he was then preparing a work which would be incomplete without them. I certainly did not anticipate that these inscriptions would be immediately published in a German periodical in forestalment of my own memoir, and without the acknowledgment even of my name, which I feel sure that M. Preller would have done me the justice to mention, had he known the real circumstances of this case.

VII.

LETTER FROM COLONEL LEAKE TO W. S. W. VAUX, Esq.,

SECRETARY OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE,

ACCOMPANIED BY

THREE VIEWS OF ROUND TOWERS AND A MAP OF THE ISLAND OF SÍFANO.

(Read March 8th, 1854.)

SIR,

Inclosed herewith I have the pleasure of transmitting to you, for the purpose of being submitted to the Royal Society of Literature, drawings of twelve ruined *Πύργοι*, or Hellenic Round Towers, existing in the islands of Andros, Ceos, Cythnos, Seriphos, Siphnos, Naxos, and Paros. In a letter addressed to me by Captain Graves, R.N., dated Malta, February 1853, he says, "The twelve drawings of round towers which I send you are from sketches made at my request by the zealous officers, with whom I was so long associated in the survey of the Archipelago, and who in Her Majesty's ship 'Spitfire' (Captain Spratt) are at present employed in bringing the survey to a conclusion. These sketches I have reduced from the original drawings to the uniform scale on which they now appear." Captain Graves notices their resemblance to the Round Towers of Ireland, which are now sufficiently proved to have been built for the safety of the persons and property of the Early Church of Ireland. "The Irish Towers," he adds, "when perfect, are generally from 70 to

100 feet in height, and from 50 to 60 in circumference: the Pyrgi of the Greek islands, those of Andros and Naxos for example, are about 60 feet high, and generally exceed the Irish towers in circumference by about 40 feet." I may here take the opportunity of stating, that this simplest form of fortification was very commonly employed by the ancients, remains of Pyrgi being found in many parts of Greece, though it is extremely rare to find them in such a state of preservation as some of those described by Captain Graves, or so near to one another as they appear to have been in Siphnos, where they were evidently intended for the protection of the silver mines, for which that island was noted, and for the safe custody of their produce. It is not unlikely that in Ceos, Cythnos, and Seriphos, they were for the same purpose: these three islands being apparently the summits of a ridge in continuation of the argentiferous mountain Laureion in Attica, may therefore have produced silver, although not in such abundance as Siphnos; in Seriphos indeed traces of ancient mines were observed by the surveying officers. At the same time, it would not be right to overlook the lines of Callimachus, which shew that circumspective towers were commonly used for the defence of islands. "While other islands," he says, "were thus protected, Delos was defended by Apollo."

Κεῖναι μὲν πύργοισι περισκεπέεσσιν ἐρυμναί,
Δῆλος δ' Ἀπόλλωνι·

Hymn. in Delum, v. 23.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
WM. MARTIN LEAKE.

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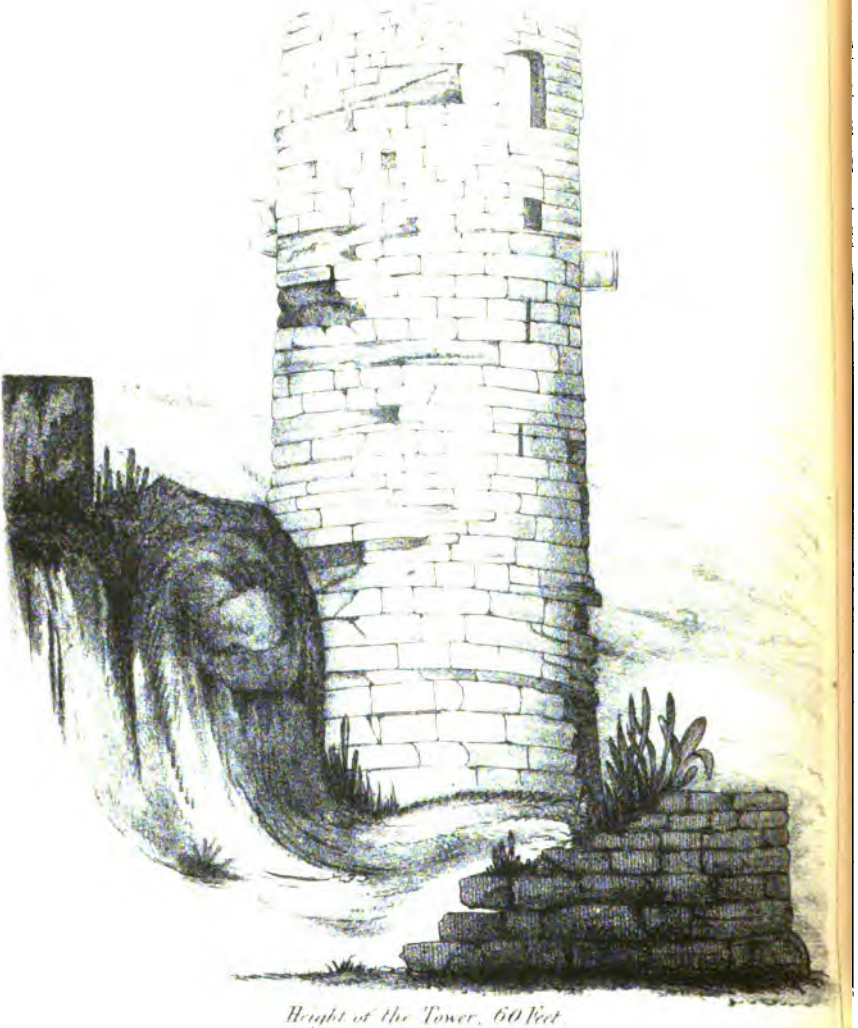

Height of the Tower, 60 Feet.

ANDROS.

At the distance of half an hour from Port Gavrió in a south-easterly direction (the path gradually ascending), occurs the ruined Pyrgo (A),[1] which was built probably to afford protection to the neighbouring iron mines, traces of which are still to be seen. The tower diminishes gradually towards the summit, and is now about 60 feet in height. A low entrance on the south side, level with the ground, leads to a chamber, the ceiling of which is formed of slabs of stone radiating from a centre; the greater part, however, has fallen in: this apartment is 16 feet high, and about 20 feet in diameter; the wall 6 feet thick. Above the lower entrance is a small square aperture, which may be reached by means of projecting stones, forming rude steps; it is the entrance of the second floor, which has a window facing also the south, 5 feet high and 3½ wide, and from which the defenders of the tower might use missiles against an enemy approaching the lower entrance. In this apartment commences a spiral stair leading to the top of the tower; it is formed by stones projecting from the wall; between twenty and thirty of these stones still remain; the rest are broken off. Above this chamber are three others. The wall on the outside of the lowest story is rough and irregular, though the stones are carefully joined; in all the higher part of the tower the wall is smooth. The

[1] This and the other letters which follow have reference to the original drawings, but it has not been thought necessary to lithograph more than three of the twelve towers, the remains of the others consisting only of a few courses, and all having been similar in masonry and construction.—W. M. L.

material is the limestone of the adjacent rocks, with the exception of the door-posts, the sills of the windows, and some projecting stones on the outside, which supported perhaps a balcony or terrace, and which are of white marble. Remains of an enclosure adjoining the building on the south side may also be traced.

CEOS, NOW ZIA.

Little now remains of this tower (B), which from the great dimensions of some of the stones and the irregularity of the masonry, appears to be of a remote antiquity; its diameter is 27 feet; it stands on the western side of the island on the slope of a hill about 100 yards above the sea, commanding the valley which descends to the bay of Pises.[1]

CYTHNOS, NOW THERMIA.

The ancient name of this island is still preserved in that of its principal village; the modern name is derived from some hot sources. The Pyrgo (C) was 28 feet in diameter, but no more than 11 feet of its height now remain. It was built of large blocks of slate. In this island lead ore was once plentiful.

SERIPHOS, NOW SERFO.

The Pyrgo of Serfo (D) is described by Count Pash von Kreinen, who says that it is called by the natives Aspro Pyrgo, and that it is built of blocks of white marble, with joints so close that it is impossible to introduce even a straw; the exterior so

[1] This name is a corruption of Ποιήεσσα, one of the four cities of this island; some traces of it are still to be seen near the bay.—W. M. L.

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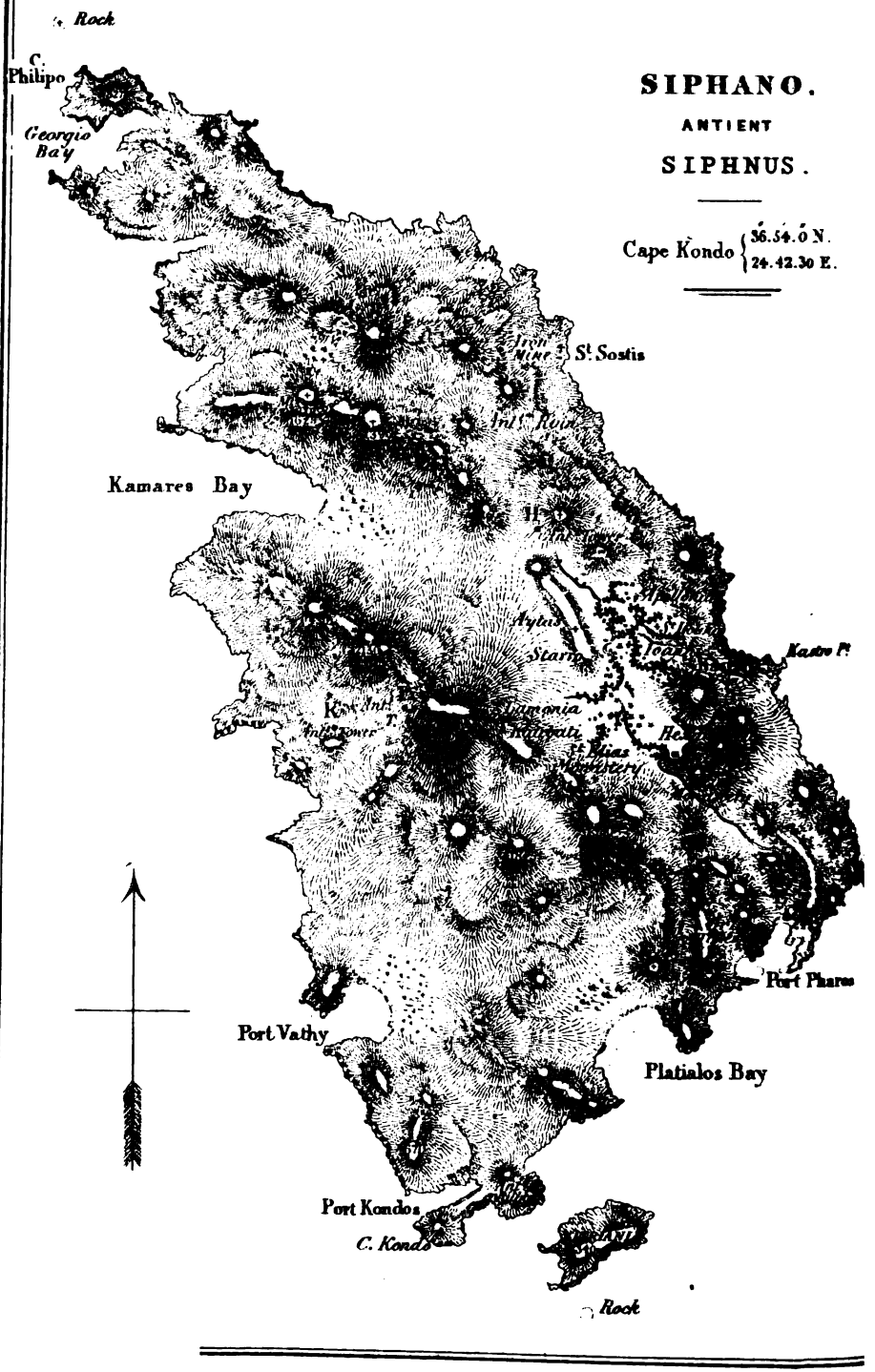
Rock
C. Philipo
Georgio Bay
SIPHANO.
ANTIENT
SIPHNUS.
Cape Kondo { 36.54.0 N. 24.42.30 E.
Iron Mine
St. Sostis
Kamares Bay
Port Phares
Port Vathy
Platialos Bay
Port Kondos
C. Kondo
Rock

smooth, as to have the appearance of a single block. Near it are traces of iron mines, and the ancient galleries by which they were worked.

SIPHNOS, NOW SÍFANO.

Siphnos, according to Herodotus, was an Ionian colony, which in process of time attained to considerable wealth by means of its mines producing gold and silver. [In the sixth century before the Christian era, the Siphnians erected a treasury at Delphi for the custody of the tenth of the produce of their mines, which they dedicated to Apollo. The remainder of the produce was equally divided among themselves. About the year 524 B. C. the island was plundered of 100 talents by a body of Samians, who, having opposed Polycrates, had been obliged to quit that island when the tyrant was successful. (Herodot. 3, 57.) About 180 years afterwards, the Siphnii are alluded to by Demosthenes (*περὶ συντάξεως*, p. 176) as being in that feeble state in which Strabo found them 350 years afterwards, when Pausanias visited Delphi and saw their empty treasury, a monument of their former wealth, as the remains of their towers are to the present time.]

On the summit of a ridge of mountains 2280 feet high, and nearly in the centre of the island, is a small church of St. Elias, whose sanctuaries are generally found on elevated positions. On the slope of the mountain is a monastery of the same name. On a plain between it and the rocky eastern shore, at the height of 890 feet above the sea, stands the village of Stavró, surrounded by those of Apollonia, Kativáti, Hexambélia, and Spitáli. The grounds

about them are well cultivated with gardens and vineyards, and the fields are studded with venerable olive trees, the whole inhabited by an industrious population of between four and five thousand. The climate is remarkably healthy, and the people live to a great age. Although rocky, Sífano is one of the most fertile and best cultivated of the Cyclades. It produces sufficient corn for home consumption, and exports figs, onions, honey, and particularly straw hats. Pliny (Hist. Nat. xxxvi. c. 22) describes a stone, which, when hollowed out, served to make vessels for the kitchen as well as plates and dishes; he adds, that if the Siphnian stone be heated with oil, it blackens and becomes hard, being naturally soft. This stone is a lead ore, plentiful in the island, and which, as it easily vitrifies, is used in glazing the pottery of clay, of which there is a considerable manufactory.

Siphnos, like Tenos, is noted for supplying Athens and Constantinople with cooks, housemaids, and nurses. The women are very industrious, weaving from cotton twist, imported from Europe, a variety of coarse stuffs, which are exported, and from their durability find a ready sale, not only among the islands, but also in Greece, Turkey, and Asia Minor. A mile south from Stavró, on the road to Port Pharos, where is the Skala, or landing-place, occurs the monastery Sti-Vrysi, so called from a never-failing source of water. Near the fountain is an ancient sarcophagus, between four and five feet in length, on which heads of oxen and wreaths may still be traced. It now serves as a trough for watering cattle. The monastery, seated in a deep

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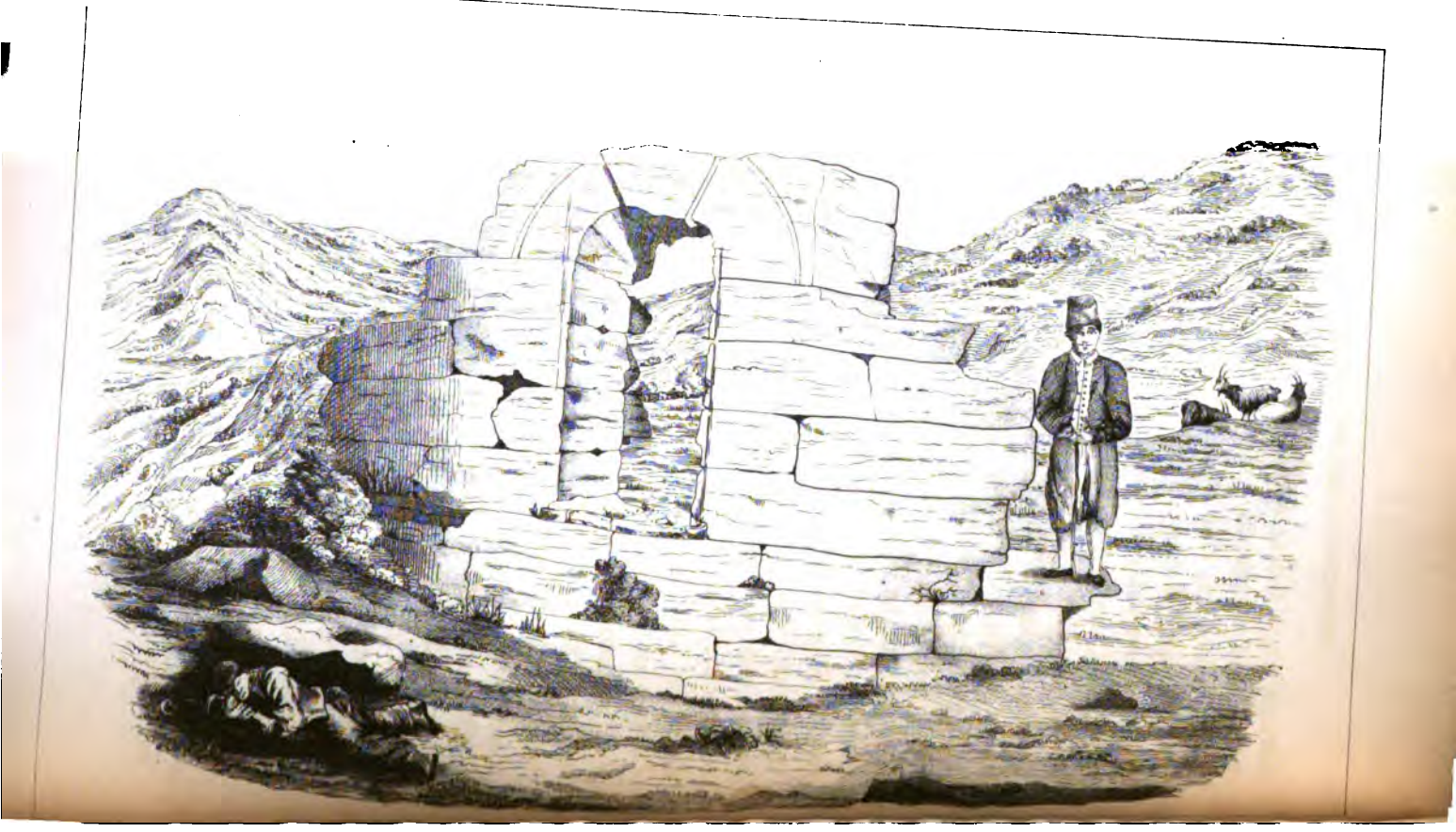
Remains of Tower in Siphnos.



valley, is very picturesque, and is surrounded by gardens and orchards, where flourish the olive, cypress, palm, fig, and other fruits. The only other inhabited spot is the village Kastro, built upon a rocky eminence close to the sea, immediately under the elevated plain, already noticed. It is built on an ancient site, and was formerly the principal place in the island. But since the Greek revolution, and now that the visit of corsairs is no longer dreaded, the inhabitants are deserting it, finding a more desirable residence and healthier position in the villages above them. Near the beach below Kastro is a sarcophagus, visited by Tournefort, and figured by Choiseul Gouffier in his 'Voyage Pittoresque de la Gréce;' it is now sadly mutilated, and in a few years perhaps will be broken up and converted into lime. On a marble column of the gate of Kastro is an inscription bearing the date 1369, and the name of a Venetian noble of Corone in Messenia, who in the fourteenth century was governor of Sífano. Some of his descendants are still in existence, and reside in the island of Santorin. At Sífano there are now no Roman Catholics.

On an eminence above the monastery of Sti-Vrysi, and close to the village of Hexambélia, is the Hellenic tower (G); at the other entrance of the inhabited plain, not far from Apollonia, is the tower (H). The interior of what remains of this Pyrgo is now used for threshing corn. Two hours north of Stavró, by a bridle-path leading along the slope of the steep eastern coast, and close to the shore, stands the small chapel of St. Sostis (the Saviour); near it are heaps of iron ore and rough stones, with traces

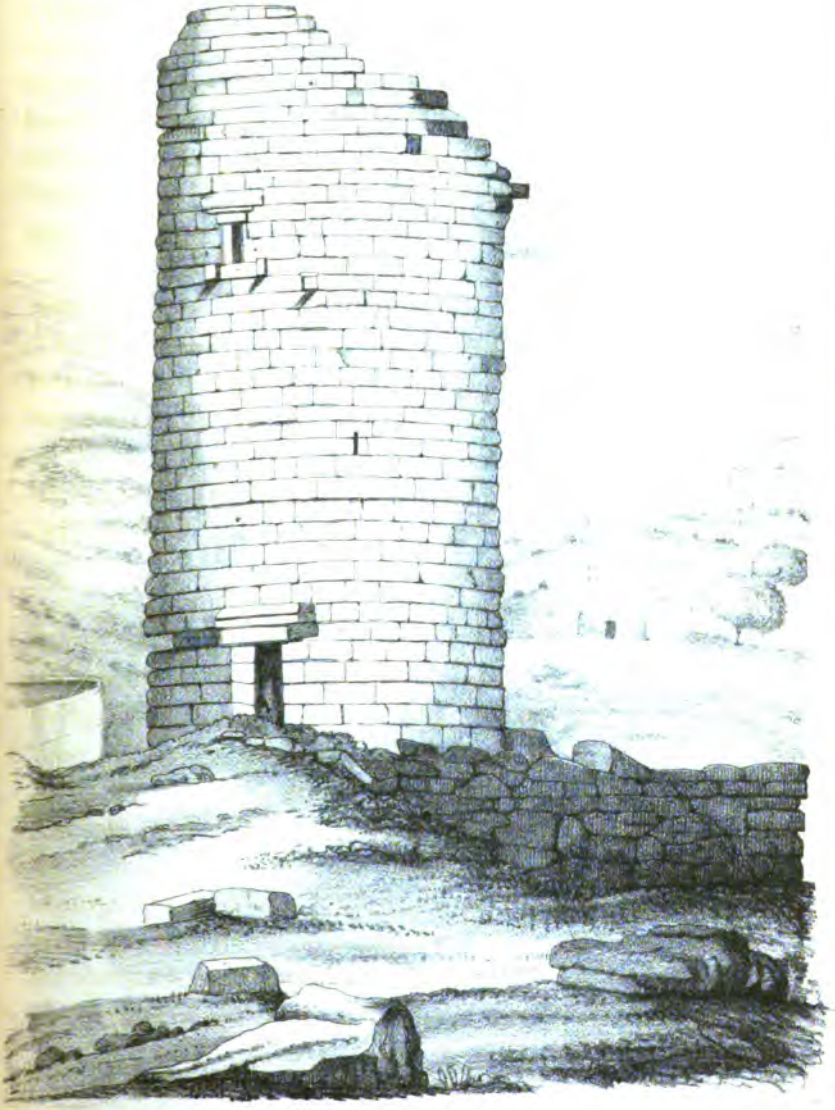
of copper dross, showing that smelting works once existed here. Probably the gold, for which the island was once famous, was found intermixed with copper. The gallery or passage extends nearly 300 feet, is perfectly dry, and the marks of the pickaxe are as decided as if the work had been done yesterday; other galleries branch off, supported by pillars, which were thus left at the time of excavation. Between St. Sostis and the north-west extremity of the island are other similar traces of mines, as well as on the western declivity of Mount St. Elias, between it and the sea-shore, where the Pyrgi (I) and (K) are situated.

The Skala, or port, derived perhaps its name Pharos from the neighbouring round towers (E, F), though it is not to be supposed that they ever served for lighthouses; indeed they are not in situations sufficiently conspicuous for that purpose.

The north wind is so prevalent in this island, that most of the windmills have their vanes fixed to that point of the compass.

NAXOS.

The Hellenic tower in this island (L) is noticed in the following passage of an old and rare work entitled 'Histoire nouvelle des anciens ducs et autres souverains de l'Archipel,' published at Paris in 1698, and supposed to have been written by Père Sauger, a Jesuit. "Dans d'autres montagnes entre le Nord et le Levant j'ai pris plaisir à considérer une grande et haute tour que les Naxiotes nomment Kimavo. Depuis le haut jusqu' en bas elle est toute d'un marbre très uni; les pierres sont liées avec des crampons de



Height of the Tower 50 Feet

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fer et fort bien jointes, sans qu'il paroisse nulle part ni chaux ni sable; elle est encore fort belle et fort entière; personne ne m'a pu dire non plus ce que c'etoit, ni à quel dessein il avoit été bâtie dans un lieu si écarté." (p. 397.)

PAROS.

Although no more than a few courses are left of the Hellenic tower of Paros (M), enough remains to shew that it must have been very similar to that in Naxia. Its remains are at a short distance inland from the southern shore of Port Naussa.

VIII.—ON CERTAIN ANCIENT ARAB QUEENS.

BY THE REV. EDWARD HINCKS, D.D., HON. MEM. R.S.L.

(Read April 13, 1853.)

THE notices of Arabian Queens in the Assyrian inscriptions are interesting of themselves; but they have become more interesting, and indeed I may say of great importance, in consequence of a discovery, which Col. Rawlinson supposes himself to have made, and which he has recently announced. He thinks that the Sheba of Scripture, by whose Queen Solomon was visited, lay in the northern part of Arabia, and at no great distance from Palestine.

Now, seeing that we have the highest possible authority for calling this Queen "the Queen of the South," and for placing her kingdom in "the uttermost parts of the earth," that is, evidently, on the shores of the Indian Ocean, it may appear a work of supererogation to say anything in refutation of this strange hypothesis. I believe, however, it will be satisfactory to many persons if I mention a fact which will show its utter groundlessness.

The sole argument on which it rests is, that among the sovereigns who paid tribute to the Assyrian King

Pul, in his eighth year, a Queen of Arabia is named.[1] Col. Rawlinson considers this to be so extraordinary a fact, that it could only have happened in a single Arab tribe. The country, then, of *this* Queen must be the Sheba of Scripture; but *it* was certainly in the very north of Arabia, and consequently Sheba was so too. Such is Col. Rawlinson's argument. I agree with him that the country over which *Khâbiba* (i. e. "the Affectionate") was Queen lay in the north of Arabia. In fact, the conquests of Pul did not extend far south. The most southern Kings in Syria named as paying him tribute are the King of Tyre, *Minakhimmi* (Menahem), King of *Samirina* (Shimrûn or Samaria), and *Rachinnu* (Rezin), King of the country about Damascus. The country of *Khâbiba* was therefore to the east or north-east of Damascus. So far I agree with Col. Rawlinson; but I completely differ from him as to the rarity of Queens in Arabia. I believe they were very common. They are mentioned by ancient authors; and, what is more to the point, the Assyrian inscriptions mention a second Arab Queen in a different part of Arabia. This is a fact just as certain as what Col. Rawlinson has stated about Khâbiba, the contemporary of Menahem. In the historical inscription of Esar-haddon on an hexagonal prism in the British Museum, that King mentions having conquered *Adumi* (evidently Edom), a city of Arabia, which of course lay to the south of Palestine. He says that his father Sennacherib had formerly taken it, and concludes by saying that he made Tabua, one of his

[1] See "Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character," Plate 67. Further investigations have satisfied me that this inscription belongs to Tiglath Pileser, and not, as here stated, to Pul.

concubines, its Queen, and imposed on it a tribute of sixty-five camels in addition to the tribute which his father had exacted. Here, then, we have a second Arab tribe governed by a Queen; and of course any argument to prove the identity of tribes from the supposed singularity of their being both governed by Queens completely falls to the ground.

IX.—ON AN ANCIENT CYLINDER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY THE REV. EDWARD HINCKS, D.D., HON. MEM. R.S.L.

(Read July 6, 1853.)

The fragments of a cylinder or (to speak more correctly) of an octagonal prism having been recently put together, I have ascertained that it is of greater antiquity than any monument bearing a cuneatic inscription which is known to be in this country, and that it carries us back, by a chronological notice which it contains, to a much more ancient period when the same mode of writing appears to have been in use. A cylinder of the same reign has been examined by Col. Rawlinson, at Baghdád, which appears, from the account of it that he has lately published, to contain matter which is not in the Museum cylinder; but on the other hand, we may presume that it wants the chronological notice, which is the most interesting part of the inscription; as Col. Rawlinson does not allude to it, but, on the contrary, advances chronological views inconsistent with it.

The date of the inscription itself can be approximated to very closely. The King who wrote it was

the same who is mentioned in the Baviân inscription of Sennacherib as having been conquered by the Babylonians 418 years before his first year, at which time Nineveh was taken and partially destroyed; and certain images of gods were carried to Babylon, which Sennacherib brought back to their original places. At the time when the inscription was made the seat of government was at Kalah Shergât, to which it is natural to suppose that it was removed on the destruction of Nineveh. Now, as the capture of Babylon took place in the last year of the first interregnum of Ptolemy's canon, being immediately followed by the reign of Belib (Belibus), whom Sennacherib says that he made King over it, it was in 702 B.C., and consequently the capture of Nineveh in 1120 B.C. The date of the inscription was a few years, perhaps ten, subsequent to this. We cannot be much astray if we fix it at 1110 B.C.

Col. Rawlinson calls this King Tiglath Pileser. The name is the same as that of a King in whose annals I some years ago detected the name of "Menahem, King of Samaria," and who must therefore have lived about the time when Tiglath Pileser lived, according to Scripture. A slab from these annals is in the British Museum, in the central Assyrian Room, opposite to the lion. It contains the conclusions of the lines in one column, and the commencement of them in another, and therefore does not of itself present a continued sense. The name consists of three elements, the second of which was certainly pronounced *pal*, or *bal;* and I am disposed to acquiesce in Col. Rawlinson's reading of the name; though it would be more satisfactory if one or other

of the remaining elements could be proved to have the required value.

The King mentions four of his ancestors in direct lineal succession, all of whom bore the title of 'King of Assyria.' None of the names can be read throughout with anything like certainty.

He also mentions a personage whom he calls his ancestor, whose name is perhaps "Shamshi-yav," the second element being, however, doubtful. He was the son of Ishmi-Dakan, "Dagon hears," which name seems to me certain. These personages are not called Kings of Assyria, but Priests, or Champions of the god Ashur. They seem, however, to have ruled the country; so that the Assyrian monarchy, if it existed before their time, must have been overthrown.

Now the King who wrote the inscription on the cylinder says that he rebuilt a certain temple, at Kalah Shergât, which his great grandfather had taken down, and which had been originally built by Shamshi-yav 641 years before. There is a fracture in this part of the inscription, and I do not feel confident as to whether these years terminated with the taking down of the temple or with its being rebuilt. In the latter case Shamshi-yav must have lived 1750 years B.C., in the former about 1840; for we may allow 90 years for the three generations between the destroyer and the rebuilder.

A very interesting fact is now stated. Tiglath Pileser says that he made tablets and inscribed sculptures containing a record of his conquests, and that he put them up in the temple; and he then adds that he found tablets and inscribed sculptures of his ancestor Shamshi-yav, which were of course in a character

then legible, and similar to what he used himself; and that he put them up in the temple by the side of his own. There they probably are at this time; and if proper excavations were made, they might be brought to light.

I need scarcely remark on the very accurate date here given, 641 years. Like that in the Baviân inscription, 418 years, it was obviously not an approximation, in which case a round number would be used, but was taken from some canon of Kings' reigns, by which the intervals between events were computed. There appear to be fragments of some such canon in the British Museum; and by comparing them with each other, and with others that may be hereafter found, it is probable that the entire of it will at no distant period be restored.

X.—ON TWO EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED IN THE LIFE OF KING CANUTE THE DANE.

BY JOHN HOGG, M.A., F.R.S., FOR. SEC. R.S.L., &C.

(Read March 22nd, 1854.)

THE remarkable events which took place in the time of *Canute*, king of Denmark, Norway, and England, and on which I purpose making a few comments, were in their consequences very similar, because from both a fresh crown ensued to that monarch.

The *first*, is the *battle* that was fought by King *Olaf*, or *Olave*, with his Norwegian subjects who had revolted, having been corrupted by the influence and money of King *Canute*,[1] to which English historians have assigned an *incorrect date*, but which I find has at length been very exactly determined by the accurate date of a celestial phenomenon having been ascertained. And the *second*, is the *single combat*, which the weight of authorities decides as having occurred fourteen years before, between the latter Prince and *Edmond Ironside*, by which a portion—and, after a few weeks, the whole—of the kingdom of England was settled. I purpose to shew that this *combat*

[1] Vide *Flor. Wig.* 393; Theodoric. p. 29; *Snorro.* 278; *Turner's* 'History of the Anglo-Saxons,' vol. iii. p. 288, 8vo. edit. *Lond.* 1801.

was in reality an instance of the ancient Scandinavian *Holmgang*—and that, *as such*, it has *not* been recorded in any of the principal histories of our own country.

With regard to the *first event*—*Hume* despatches it in the following meagre statement: "In another voyage, which he made afterwards (A. D. 1028) to Denmark, *Canute* attacked Norway, and expelling the just, but unwarlike *Olaüs* (Olaf), kept possession of his kingdom, till the death of that prince."[1]

The more accurate *Rapin de Thoyras* gives us a fuller description in these words:—"Two years after (A. D. 1027), unmindful of his ill success in the last war with the Swedes, *Canute* entered into another, which made him ample amends for his former losses. He resolved to revive some old pretensions to Norway, which had never been fully cleared. *Olaüs*, who then sat on the throne of Norway, was a weak and unwarlike Prince. *Canute* thought it would be easier for him to prosecute his pretensions in the reign of such a Prince, than at any other time. He began the execution of his design with privately forming a strong party among the Norwegian Lords.[2] As soon as matters were ripe, he sailed for Denmark with a considerable body of English troops,[3] and suddenly landed them in Norway. *Olaüs*, who had no intelligence of his practices, surprised at this attack, and more so, to see the major part of his subjects side with the enemy, found there was no

[1] *Hume's* 'History of England,' vol. i. chap. 3, p. 151. Edit. *Lond.* 1778.

[2] By sending them large sums of money. *S. Dunelm.* p. 178.

[3] With *forty* ships, *S. Dunelm. Brompt.* p. 911. With *fifty*, *Flor. Worc.*

remedy but to abandon his kingdom, and save himself by flight. Upon his retreat, *Canute* was crowned King of Norway, regardless of the right, so long as he had the power in his hands. Two years after, the dispossessed Prince, attempting to recover his dominions, was slain by his own subjects, and *Canute* remained peaceable possessor of the kingdom. *Olaüs*, after his death, was ranked among the Saints, and honoured with the glorious title of *Martyr*."[1]

Next, the old historian *John Speed* thus briefly relates the same transactions: "*Albertus Krantius*, the Danish historian, reporteth that *Olanus*, King of Sweyden, having assisted *Canute* against *Edmund* the *Ironside*, and seeing himselfe to bee neglected in the composition betwixt them, mooved such stirres in Denmarke, that *Canutus* was forced thither againe; where by the prowesse of his English hee repulsed *Olanus*, who lastly was slaine by his owne subjects."[2]

In the margin, the date "*An. Dom.* 1028," immediately follows this passage; from which it is to be inferred, that the author considered the repulsion and death of *Olaf* as having occurred *previous* to that year.[3]

But our late able and esteemed Royal Associate *Sharon Turner*, who much too shortly mentions the event, has referred it to the year 1029. He says,

[1] *Rapin de Thoyras*, 'Hist. of England,' translated by *Tindal*. 2nd edit. *Lond.* 1732, vol. i. p. 126.

[2] *Speed's* 'Hist. of Great Britaine,' p. 401, 3rd *edit. Lond.* 1650.

[3] Dr. *Lingard*, 'Hist. of England,' vol. i. p. 381, (3rd *edit.*) assigns the year 1028 to this event. He states, "*Olave*, a Norwegian Sea-king, was murdered in an insurrection of his subjects."

"in the next year (i. e. *after* 1028), St. *Olave* returned (to Norway), but perished from the insurrection of his subjects, whom he had offended by his laws to accelerate their civilization."[1]

Professor *James D. Forbes*, in his recent work on 'Norway and its Glaciers,' gives the following extremely interesting and more detailed narrative (p. 116). "When a *total eclipse* was last visible in Norway I am unable now to state, but the popular mind, with singular fidelity to its time-honored traditions, at once recurred to one which occurred more than eight centuries ago, and which, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the time, was recorded in the *Sagas*, and has been traditionally recollected ever since. It happened, as has been placed beyond a doubt by the careful and ingenious researches of Professor *Harsteen* of Christiania, on the afternoon of the 31*st August*, 1030.[2] King *Olaf*, the saint (canonized for his efforts to introduce at the point of the sword the doctrines of Christianity among the heathens of Scandinavia), engaged in battle on that day with his rebellious subjects, who were urged on by *Knut*,[3] King of Denmark and England, who desired also to acquire Norway. *Olaf* was returning from Sweden with the troops he had collected, and entered his own dominions not far from Throndhjem. Meeting the revolters, led by three powerful chiefs, at Stiklastad, in Værdal, about sixty English miles

[1] *Turner's* 'Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons,' vol. iii. p. 289.

[2] "Professor *Harsteen's* results are detailed in *Schumacher's* 'Astronomische Nachrichten, Ergänzungsheft,' 1849."

[3] *Knútr* is the more correct mode of writing this name in the ancient Norwegian, or Norse dialect.

north-east of the capital, he gave them fight, was defeated, and slain. In the chronicle of *Snorre Sturlason*,[1] it is related that 'the weather was fine and the sun shone clear, but after the fight began, a red hue overspread the sky and the sun, and before the battle ended, it was *dark as night*.' One of the *skalds* or poets thus expressed it,—'the unclouded sun refused to warm the Northmen. A great wonder happened that day. The day was *deprived of its fair light*.' The body of *Olaf* was secretly conveyed to Throndhjem (then called *Nidaros*[2]) and interred. A

[1] I think it will be interesting to add here, extracts from the *Heimskringla*, or 'History of the Kings of Norway,' relative to this event, since Professor *Forbes* has only given a short translation of the same. Chapter 238, p. 791 of the edition which I used, is entitled, 'De initiis prælii *Sticklastadiensis*.' The *Saga* says,—"Erat tum dies maximè lucidus, sole mundum illustrante. Cum vero pugnæ factum esset initium, rubere primum cœlum cæpit, mox etiam spissæ nubes obortæ condebant lucem terramque obfuscabant cum prælium finitum esset."

Again, chap. 239, p. 794 continues, "Hinc ea quæ prius memorata acciderunt, ut nimirum claro exstante cœlo, sol obfuscatus sit, caligine oborta. Hujus etiam meminit *Sigvaturus* Scaldus in poemate illo; 'Res mira fuit, cum solem obfuscari contigit. Nimirum istius diei noctisque prægravis erat vicissitudo, cum diurni luminis interciperetur splendor.'" And the *Saga* adds further; "Oborta vero caligine, haudquaquam hostem aggredi tutum erat, cum obvia quæque fallerent." (Vide 'Heimskringla,' à *Snorrone Sturlonide*; edit. *Johann Peringskiöld*. Stockholmiæ, 1697.)

[2] Throndhjem, Trondjem, Tronyem, Drontheim, or Trontheim was the ancient capital of Norway, and named *Nidarós*, and *Nidrosia* in Latin, from the river *Nid*, or *Nidr*. "*Nidrosia* civitas olim potentiâ, et sede Regiâ, et Archiepiscopali eminentissima, totiusque Norvegiæ *Caput*. . . . . Appellationem Latinam deduxit à *fluvio Nidero*, cujus ostium obsidet." *Amœnitates Regn. Daniæ*, p. 1225; edit. *Lugd. Bat.* 1706. I may explain that *Nid*, or *Nidi*, is derived from *Nidr*, which signifies *down*, or *downwards*, *nether*.

chapel was afterwards built over it, which is now included within the east end of the Cathedral."

The Professor also remarks, that the *eclipse* at Stiklastad "could have been nothing short of *total*, appears from the circumstance that the combatants could not recognize one another; but the total darkness lasted, by *Harsteen's* calculation, only twelve seconds, the eclipse being even annular at some other points of the earth's surface. It was universally regarded, however, as an evil omen."[1]

From this account *three* important *facts* are determined: *firstly*, that the *battle* between St. *Olaf* and his disaffected subjects, was fought on the *afternoon of August* 31st, A. D. 1030; *secondly*, that *Olaf* was *slain* on that occasion; and *thirdly*, that the *place*, where the *battle* occurred, was at *Stiklastad*, in Værdal, near sixty English miles to the north-east of Trontheim—*Nidaros*, or *Nidrosia*—the then capital of Norway.

These, I may observe, are indeed *facts* of great interest in correcting the narrations of our historians, and in elucidating the very spare English annals of so early a Sovereign, as our *Canute* the Great.

On this memorable *last day of August*, in the year of our Lord 1030, "the conquest of Norway," as *Rapin* continues, "fully satisfied *Canute's* ambition. From that time, laying aside all thoughts of warlike affairs, he gave himself up to acts of *devotion*."[2]

And as *Hume* adds—evidently having this last passage in his mind—*Canute* "had now by his

[1] *Forbes's* 'Norway and its Glaciers,' p. 117.

[2] *Rapin's* 'Hist. of England,' vol. i. p. 126.

conquests and valour attained the utmost height of grandeur;" . . . . . and "by this spirit of *devotion*, no less than by his equitable and politic administration, he gained, in a good measure, the affections of his subjects."[1]

Again, the *second event*, which I shall here notice, is one of like, or in truth to us Englishmen of much greater, importance, since it was the means of previously settling the crown of England upon the same Danish Monarch.

The careful historian of the Anglo-Saxons says, he has stated this *event*, or the *duel* between *Canute* and *Edmond Ironside*, "on the authority of Huntingdon, 363; Matt. West. 400; Peterb. 36; Knyghton, 2316; Bromton, 905; Highden, 274; Rieval, 364; and Radulf Niger, MS. Vesp. D, 10, p. 25. But Malmsbury, 72, and the Encomium Emmæ, 169, declare that *Canute* declined the battle. The Saxon Chronicle, Florence, Hoveden, and some others, neither mention the challenge nor the conflict. The Knytlinga Saga is as silent."[2]

I will, in the *first* place, consider some other able authorities, to which that author has not referred.

Hume, doubtless agreeing with M. *Rapin*, disposes of the question, as in the former case, in the following unsatisfactory manner: "Assembling a new army at Glocester, *Edmond* was again in a condition to dis-

[1] *Hume's* 'Hist. of England,' vol. i. pp. 151–2; or, as *William Warner* quaintly sings:

> "Of *England*, *Danske*, and *Norway*, then *Canut* was perfect Lord,
> And in this *triple* Regiment all with vertue did accord."
>
> '*Albion's England*,' p. 106.

[2] *Turner's* 'Hist. Anglo-Saxons,' vol. iii. p. 267, *note* 13.

pute the field; when the Danish and English nobility, equally harassed with those convulsions, obliged their kings to come to a compromise, and to divide the kingdom between them by treaty. *Canute* reserved to himself the northern division, consisting of Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumbria,[1] which he had entirely subdued. The southern parts were left to *Edmond*."[2]

M. *Rapin*, following *Malmsbury*, writes that *Edmond* sent a challenge to *Canute*, who, on the ground of his "weak constitution and small stature," refused it; but that the decision of matters was effected by referees or plenipotentiaries nominated on both sides, who soon concluded a peace by the partition of the kingdom. "Every thing being settled, the two kings met in the Isle of *Alney*, over against Gloucester, and mutually swore to preserve the peace."[3]

Speed describes the single combat: so do *Baker* and *Grafton* in their respective "Chronicles."

Camden also relates the Monomachia. And *Warner*, in his poem entitled 'Albion's England,' has done the same; but *Simeon Dunelmensis* gives no account of the challenge, or of the duel.

The weight of the testimony, therefore, of the old

[1] As the word "Northumberland" here used by *Hume* and *Rapin* is apt to make the reader think of the *County* of Northumberland *alone*, it will be better to change it to "Northumbria," for in fact Northumberland,—in ancient Danish, 'Nordymbraland,'—at that period, comprehended *all* the North of England from the Humber to the Tweed. *Simeon* Dunelmensis, I find, writes, 'Northanhymbri' for *Northumbrians*, which is nearer to the Danish. "Northumbria" will also better agree with "Mercia, and East Anglia."

[2] *Hume's* 'Hist. of England,' vol. i. p. 147.

[3] *Rapin's* 'Hist. of England,' vol. i. p. 124.

historians clearly determines the question, in *favour* of the *Single Combat*.[1]

In the *second* place, as to the *Single Combat* having been what in ancient Danish (*Dönsk tunga*), and now in old Norse, is termed, a "Holmgánga," or *Holmgang*.

This kind of Duel, or single combat,—*Holmgang*—literally signifies an *Island-going*, or *Island-meeting*, from its being generally held on a *Holm*, or river-island,[2] and is a very ancient custom of frequent use in former times in Denmark and Norway; and indeed, I believe, throughout Scandinavia.

The combatants met on an *island*, which was afterwards often called the *Battle-island*—most likely in order that escape might be the more easily prevented,—attended only by a shield-bearer, or *Second*;—the other parties and spectators might witness the conflict from the opposite shores.

Swords of a certain, or equal length, were mostly the weapons used; and the party who had received the challenge usually began the onset, or had the *right* of striking the first blow. But on the blood of either of the combatants streaming upon the ground, then his shield-bearer had the power of interfering and of terminating the conflict.[3]

[1] Dr. *Lingard's* 'Hist. of England,' (3rd *edition*,) vol. i. p. 369, gives this account of the transaction:—"To account for the final success of Canute it was said that the two kings *fought in single combat* in the *Isle of Olney*: that the Dane, finding himself inferior, assailed his rival with flattery; and that by his eloquence, not his prowess, he induced the English prince to acquiesce in the partition of the kingdom."

[2] *Holmr* also sometimes means a mere *sandbank* in a river.

[3] The rules or *laws* of the *Holmgang* were known as the *holmgangu læg*.

And it sometimes occurred that on the parties having met at a *Holmgang* and the fight beginning, all further contest was put an end to by the interference of a third person, who might settle the matter as an arbitrator. Of this I will cite one instance from *Kormak's* Saga:[1]—*Vali* gave a challenge to *Bersi* to determine their affair at a *Holmgang*. The latter accepted it, stating that he never objected to do battle.[2] At the commencement of the onset, *Thord* arriving, separated *Vali* and *Bersi:* he urged upon them the folly of two brave and gallant men trying to slay each other, and the wisdom of referring to him the question in dispute. They agreed to accept his arbitration; and thereupon *Thord* suggested that the wisest plan to settle all matters was, that *Bersi* should marry *Thordisa* the sister of his adversary. To this *Bersi* assented, on condition that *Vali* would bestow on his sister, the farm of *Brekkuland* for her dowry. *Vali* stating that he would do so, they all left the battle-isle; and rode home well pleased with *Thord's* decision.

Also, if a man—named *Harald* for example—became famous as a single combatant,—he often retained for the rest of his life, the title of *Holmgang Harald*,—that is to say,—'Island-going (*Duelling*) Harold.'

Such was the Scandinavian *Holmgang;* and such were some of its ancient *customs*.

[1] 8vo. *Hafniæ*, 1832.

[2] The phrase "skora á Holm" signifies, 'to provoke one to a duel;'—so, "ok skoradi menn til Holmgângu"—(*vide* 'Viga Glum's Saga,' ch. 6) means, 'And he challenged men to the *holmgang*,' or single combat.

In order to demonstrate how far the *Single Combat* between *Edmond* and *Canute*, as related by certain of the earlier historians of England, agrees with the preceding details of a *Holmgang*, I will add some extracts from their works, retaining at the same time, their old language, and mode of spelling.

Richard Grafton in the first volume of his 'Chronicle' (p. 172) gives this account:—"One of the Capitaines, whether it were *Englishman* or *Dane*, it is not knowne, having first lycence graunted him to saye his minde, spake in the presence of both the Kings on thyswise.—'O most doubtie and valiant Emperours, you have nowe fought long ynough one against another: there hath beene bloud ynough shed betwixt you both. Your valiantnesse and the manly courage also of your souldiours is sufficiently tryed. And yet can neither of you awaye with good or evill fortune. For if it so chaunce that one of you have the upper hande of the other, he more fiercely pursueth his vanquished enimie: Agayne, if his fortune be to be overcome, yet prepareth he a freshe battaile against his vanquisher. O what wilfulnesse is this of yours (noble Princes) that can not be overcome and perswaded by reason? Doe you more regard warre then peace? Whether rageth this your greedie desyre of Empire? If you fight for a Kingdome, and that be your quarrell and the cause why ye thus warre one against another, devide you then this most flourishing and wealthie Realme betwixt you, the which in times past was counted sufficient to maintaine vii Kings: But if glorie doe pricke you to hasard the uncertaine chaunce of Empire or Servitude, devise you some wayes by your selves whereby the

matter maye be determined without any great slaughter or bloudshed which of you both shall have the sovereintie.' Thus spake this Capitaine unto them. But the latter sentence pleased King *Edmond*, and so did it *Canutus* also, whome fortune favoured. And so by his perswasions they accorded at the length to trie the matter in their awne persons by dynt of sworde."

"These wordes thus spoken, were right well allowed of both hostes, for at this time, a truce was made betweene both the princes for a certaine tyme, after which tyme ended, were it by the occasion of these wordes, or otherwise, the sayde two princes *Edmond* and *Canutus*, agreed to trie their quarels betwene them two onely."

"And for this was assigned by both their agrements, a little Isle then called *Olney* nere unto *Gloucester*. In which place, at the daye and tyme appointed, the two Champions met without company or assistance within the sayde Isle, the hostes of both parties standing without the Isle, and there abyding the fortune of this combate. There eyther proved other, first with sharpe speares, and after with kyne and cutting swordes. What shall I of this make any longer processe, when eyther had other well proved and assayed, by receivyng of harde and sore strokes, by the first motion of *Canutus*, as most writers testefie, they at the last agreed and kissed together as lovers, to the great comfort of both the hostes."

"And shortly after, by the advise of both their counsayles they condiscended and agreed upon a particion of the lande, which immediatly was done to both their contentations, and they loved after, as two brethren, during their naturall lyves."

John Speed[1] writes the "hoasts" of *Edmund* and *Canute*, "meete at *Dearehurst* neere unto the river *Severne*, where they were resolvedly bent to establish the one's title with the other's downefall; and now being ready to joyne, a certaine Captaine of uncertaine name, stept forth (as is reported) betwixt the two Armies, and uttered in effect this speech.

"'Many battels have beene fought, and too much blood already spilt for the soveraignty of this land, betwixt these two fierce nations, and the valours of the generals, captaines, and souldiers sufficiently tried; wherein even fortune her selfe seemeth to have beene conquered; for if one battaile were wonne, it was not long kept, neither the loser so weakened, but that hee had both courage and power to winne the next. What is the marke then that you aime at? is it honour and fame? Titles indeed which accompany warre; but neither long enjoyed, nor much attained unto by the common souldiers, by whose valours and blood it is for the most part wonne. Let him therefore that would weare the Diademe, beare the hazard himselfe, without the confusion of many men, and either trie the fortune of a single combat, who shall command, and who obey; or divide betwixt them the kingdome, which may suffice *two*, that hath maintained *seven*.'

"Some affirme that this speech was Duke *Edrick's;* but I hardly beleeve so good a motion should proceed from so bad a man. By whomsoever uttered, it was acceptably received by *Edmund* and *Canute*, who thereupon, in sight of their armies, entred into a small Iland, embraced about with the armes of *Severn*,

[1] 'Hist. of Great Britaine,' p. 400.

called *Alney*, adjoyning unto the City *Gloucester*,[1] where those princes in complete armour at first assailed each other most dangerously on horsebacke, and after as valiantly on foot. The *Ironside* was strong, and fought for his kingdome; the Dane not so tall, but every way as stout, fought for his honour, and so the combate continued with an absolute resolution, till at length *Canute* having received a dangerous wound, and seeing himselfe overmatched in strength, wished a comprimise, and thus spake to *Edmund* with a loud voyce:

"'What necessity should thus move us, most valiant prince, that for the obtaining of a Title, wee should thus endanger our lives? Better it were to lay malice and armour aside, and to condescend to a loving agreement: let us therfore now become sworne brothers, and divide the kingdome betwixt us, and in such league of amity, that each of us may use the other's part as his owne; so shall this land

[1] In *Fosbrooke's* 'Original History of the City of Gloucester, including *Bigland's* MSS.,' *Lond.* 1819, p. 16, the account of the battle in the Isle of *Alney*, which was fought in A. D. 1016, is given from *Ailred*, or *Ethelred*, Abbot of Rievesby; and it adds,—"there is an *island* situate in the midst of the river, which is called 'Holenghege,' to which the Kings being carried, protected with the most splendid arms, enter upon the *single combat*."

This *Holenghege* is, I think, merely a corruption for *Holmghege*, *en* being mistaken for *m*: *Holmghege*—pronounced *Holmghaga*—is probably no other than *Holmgánga*.

And in *Twysden's* Edition of 'Hist. Angl. Scriptores X.' vol. i. col. 364, *Lond.* 1652, I find the *original* from '*Ailredi* Abbatis *Rievallensis* Historia,' to be as follows:—"est autem *insula* in ipsius fluminis (*Sabrinæ*) medio sita quæ holenghege appellatur, ad quam reges transvecti splendidissimis protecti armis, utroque spectante populo, ineunt *singulare certamen*."

be peaceably governed, and wee joyntly assist each other's necessitie.'

"Whereupon they both cast downe their swords, imbracing as friends with the great joy and shouting of both their armies, who stood before doubtfully wavering betwixt hope and feare, and looking for their owne fortunes, according to the successe of their Champions.

"Thus was the kingdome divided betwixt those two princes; *Edmund* enjoying that part that lay coasted upon France, and *Canute* entring upon the rest."

Richard Baker, in his 'Chronicle of the Kings of England,' (p. 20,) records more briefly the same transaction. "At *Dereherst* neere to the river *Severne*, another battaile was ready to be fought; when suddenly a certaine Captaine steps forth, and for saving of blood used great perswasions, that either they should try the matter by single combat, or else divide the kingdome betwixt them. Upon this the Combat is agreed on, and the two Princes entering into a small Island called *Alney*, adjoyning to the city of *Glocester*, in compleat armour assayled each other, at first on horsebacke, and after on foote: when *Canutus* having received a dangerous wound, and finding himselfe overmatched in strength, desired a compromise, and with a loud voyce used these words. 'What necessity should move us, most valiant Prince, for obtaining of a title to endanger our lives? were it not better to lay malice aside, and condescend to a loving agreement? Let us therefore become sworne brothers, and divide the kingdome between us.' This motion was by King *Edmund* accepted, and thus was

the kingdome divided betweene these two princes; *Edmund* enjoying that part which lies upon the coast of France, and *Canutus* the rest."

Camden, describing in his Chapter on the *Dobuni*, or inhabitants of Gloucestershire, the Severn near Gloucester, says:[1] "Huic mediamnis in Sabrinâ objacet, *Oleneag* et *Alney* Saxonicè, nunc *the Eight*,[2] id est, Insula. Hinc celebris, quòd cum assiduis prœliis et Angli, et Dani comminuti fuissent: missō in compendium bello, utriusque gentis fata *Edmundo* Anglorum, et *Canuto* Danorum regibus commissa fuerint, qui singulari certamine de summâ Imperii *in hâc insulâ* depugnârunt. Sed post ancipitem æquo Marte pugnam, pax convenit, et regnum inter eos dispertitum: verùm *Edmundo* statim neque sine suspicione veneni sublato, universam Angliam occupavit Danus."

And on the site of the Isle of *Alney* or *Olney*, see Bishop *Gibson's* remark in his 2nd Edition of the 'Britannia,' vol. i. p. 273. Also Messrs. *Brayley* and *Britton* in their description of 'Glocestershire' state:—"On the north-west side of Glocester is the celebrated *Isle of Alney*, a small tract, formed by the separation of the stream of the *Severn* into two channels. This was the scene of contest between *Edmund* Ironside and *Canute* the Dane, after the battle of Assindune, in the year 1016."[3]

[1] 'Britannia,' à *Guilielmo Camdeno*, p. 275; 3rd Edit. *Lond.* 1590.

[2] *Eight* is derived from the Saxon *eiht*, and signifies an *isle in a river*. Also *eyet* or *eyot*, is a *river-islet*, and evidently comes from the old Danish, or Norse, word *ey*, 'an Isle;' which however is now more usually written *eyja*.

[3] 'The Beauties of England and Wales,' vol. v. p. 564.

The last Author, whom I shall cite, is *William Warner*, not for anything unnoticed by the preceding writers, but for the account being conveyed in old and quaint verses. He thus sings:

"Now, after many bloody fields, when none might estimate
The better or the worser part, a knight that saw the state,
Then present, and by likelyhoods presaged what might fall,
Said (hearing it, the differing Kings and Souldiers almost all:)
'We ever warre, and never winne, *Edmund* hath fortitude,
Canutus fortune, neither thus of other is subdude.
Death feares not us, nor for their lives our contraries doe care:
It follows then, that all must die wheare all so desprat are.
If all be slaine, then who shall serve our Princes that survive,
Or fence out Forrens? better one, then none of both should thrive.
To thrive therefore, were not amisse, that seeing one of twaine
Will owner all, that onely they the quarrell doe maintaine—
Or if combattensie not please, the land is rich and large,
And they copernicers may live, and us of death discharge.
If combat nor partition be, then will his warre revive,
Till one, surviving all of us, wants one with whom to strive.'
This said, the Kings did marke and make a profit of the same,
And did conclude by combacye to winne or loose the game.
Within a little Island neare (round which the armies stand)
The Kingly champions trie their force, by fighting hand to hand:
They spur their horses, breake their speares, and beat at barriers long,
And then, dismounting, did renew a battell brave and strong.
Whil'st eyther King thus martially defends, and did offend,
They breathing, King *Canutus* said: 'we both I see shall end,
Ere Empire shall begin to one, then be it at thy choyce
To fight, or part.' With it their knights, crie out with common voyce,
'Devide, most valiant Kings, devide, enough ye have of fight:'
And so the Champions did embrace, forgetting malice quite.
Partition equally was made betwixt these princes twaine,
And brother-like they live and love."[1]

From these narrations I think it will be apparent

[1] 'Albion's England,' penned by *William Warner*, p. 105; Edit. *Lond.* 1602.

that the *single combat* waged by *Edmund* and *Canute* on the *eyet*, or Island (*Alney*) of the Severn, was in all particulars a complete instance of the Scandinavian *Holmgang*:—a custom at that period greatly in vogue with the Danes and other *Nordmenn*, or northern people, by whom without doubt it was introduced into our country.

In fine, the *Holmgang* was a species of "Wager of Battel," which, in the words of the learned *Blackstone*, "seems to have owed its original to the military spirit of our ancestors, joined to a superstitious frame of mind; it being in the nature of an appeal to Providence, under an apprehension and hope (however presumptuous and unwarrantable) that Heaven would give the victory to him who had the right."[1]

[1] *Blackstone's* 'Commentaries,' vol. iii. chap. xxii. s. v.

XI.—ON THE EVIL EYE.

BY JAMES A. DAVIES, ESQ.

(Read May 24, 1854.)

In submitting to the Royal Society of Literature this most difficult inquiry, I shall endeavour to clear up a confusion which seems to exist between the *thing itself*,—the supposed cause of the *evil*,—and the *remedy* which afterwards would appear to have received the same name as the *supposed cause*. This I will endeavour to explain by briefly tracing—

1st. The various expressions bearing on the subject, —with regard to the *eye*, the origin, etymology, and use of those expressions.

2ndly. The supposed authors, causers, causes or agents.

3rdly. The *Objects*, or subjects.

4thly. The *Remedies* against it; and in these three latter I shall adduce whatever I have found materially bearing on the point, whether as regards persons, animals, things, rites, ceremonies, customs, or practices, to which it will be difficult to do justice in the limits of a single Paper. I will nevertheless lay before the Society

the principal authorities I have found on the subject.

First, the word eye עַיִן, pl. עֵינִי, we find used in Scripture in a twofold sense—Good and Bad.

I.—*In a good sense*, as—Gen. xliv. 21—when Joseph commands his brethren to bring Benjamin to him, he adds, and I will put my eyes upon him.[1]

Numb. x. 31—where Moses asks Hobab to be unto them in the place of eyes—"thou mayest be to us instead of eyes."[2]

Ruth ii. 9—"thine eye be upon the field," &c.

Job xxiv. 15—says he was *eyes* to the blind.

II.—*In a bad sense*, as—Ps. x. 8. Vulg. ix. 29—"his *eyes* (are set against) to the poor."

Ps. xvii. Vulg. xvi. 11—"their *eyes* they have determined to turn to the earth," [speaking of the wicked; whereas the good look to heaven.] Hence עוֹן עִוֵּן, to eye, *especially* said of Saul, with regard to David.

1 Sam. xviii. 9—when, after the victory, David's valour in slaying tens of thousands to Saul's thousands, having been extolled by the women, Saul's jealousy was raised, and it is recorded—"and it was [that] Saul eyed[3] David from that day forward."

[1] וְאָשִׁימָה עֵינִי עָלָיו [2] לְנוּ לְעֵינָיִם

[3] וַיְהִי שָׁאוּל עֵן אֶת־דָּוִד
מֵהַיּוֹם הַהוּא וְהָלְאָה׃

Non rectis ergo oculis Saul aspiciebat David à die illa, et deinceps. —Vulg.

Deut. xxviii. 54 and 56—speaking of the agonies of famine, it says of one, "his eye shall be evil to his brother;" and of another, "her eye shall be evil to her husband"—where in the Greek the words are rendered by *βασκανεῖ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ*.

A most remarkable passage occurs in Prov. xxiii. 6.[1] אל-תלחם את-לחם רע עין—"eat not the bread of an evil eye." LXX. *μὴ συνδείπνει ἀνδρὶ βασκάνῳ*. Vulg. cum homine invido.

Prov. xxviii. 22. [LXX. *Σπεύδει πλουτεῖν ἀνὴρ βάσκανος*.]—A man of an evil eye is disturbed (anxious, nervous) to get rich.

Matth. xx. 15—is thine eye evil (invidious) because mine is just?—in which we have—*ὁ ὀφθαλμός . . πονηρός*.

Mark vii. 22—one of the sins issuing from the heart is called *ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρὸς*.

And where in Galatians iii. 1, which we translate—"who hath bewitched you"—the Greek is, *τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανε*. Vulg. fascinavit.

The glossary on this text observes that there are certain people, who, having burning eyes, by a single look infect others.

St. Jerome (T. vii. 417,) says "not that the Apostle believed in the 'evil eye,' but only used the popular form of expression."

Aristophanes (Plut. 571) speaks of *Penia* being a famous "fascinatrix:"

Ἀλλ' οὐ ψεύδει τούτων γ' οὐδέν καίπερ σφόδρα βάσκανος οὖσα.

Thou dost not belie any one of these things, spiteful

[1] Gaelic, droch shuil. The old Romans said Dromulus, Dremus; רע Heb.; droch, Gaelic, evil.

witch as thou art. Neapol. "*jettatrice che sia;*" Brunck. "*licet valdè sis maledica.*"

Suidas—*βασκανία* and *βάσκανος ἁπλῶς ἐπὶ λοιδόριας τίθεασιν*, as of one lancing curses at another.

Etymology of *βασκαίνειν*, as generally given. Grammarians ordinarily define it from *φάεσι καίνειν*—oculis occidere, to kill with the eyes or by looking at.

Aristotle, as if alluding to the danger of eating with "a man of an evil eye,"—prob. 34, § xx.[1]—says that when the Greeks invited any one to partake at their private table, at which they were generally accustomed to eat alone, they said—*Ἵνα μή βασκάνῃς με*.

The Italians name it "affascinamento mal d'occhio" —and the person who possesses it a "mal occhio."

The Neapolitans call the same *jettatura*, as if from (gettare, Neapolitan) jettar incantamenti, and the person "jettatore" and "jettatrice."

Victorinus de Rhet. i. derives the Latin word "fascinatio" from the "fascia" with which incantations were performed.—Virg. Ec. iii.; Petron. Arbit. Sat. (apud Vallettam.)

Relations between soothsayers and the root עַיִן eye, or עוּן to eye.—It is singular to observe that many of the words in Holy Writ signifying enchanters, or enchantments, are compounded of the root *eye*.

Deut. xviii. 10, 14—The Jews are told that the nations, they are to drive out, among other things listen to מְעֹנֵן — as if מְעוֹנֵן *eyers*,

[1] Ed. Du Val, fol. Paris, 1619. In the modern 4to edit. *Προβλήματα*, K. 34.

seers:[1] Vulg. *augures*. English version, "observers of times," which is the interpretation of Rabbi Solomon; and the Talmud Sanhedrim derives it from the eye עין, but, as if they shut their eyes to the truth (Tal. Sanhed. c. vii.)[2] Aben Ezra derives it from ענן, a cloud.

In all of which texts I find a root like, if not the root of *eye*. And as the "evil eye" was considered to occasion great evils, and to be exercised in the spirit of "envy," so the Greeks translated such sentences as "he eyed," or envied, by ἐβάσκανε. So

[1] *Levit.* xix. 26. לֹא תְעוֹנְנוּ—Vulg. non observabis signa. English, nor observe times.

2 *Kings* xxi. 6. וְעוֹנֵן—Vulg. ariolatus est. English, observed times.

Isa. ii. 6. וְעֹנְנִים (May be replenished.) May have increased the number of soothsayers from the East.

Isa. lvii. 3. בְּנֵי עֹנֵנָה Sons of the sorceress. Vulg. filii auguratricis.

Jerem. xxvii. 9. עֹנְנֵיכֶם—Vulg. augures vestros.—Eng. your enchanters.

In all these I seem to observe the root of the eye.

[1] Numbers xxiv. 3, 15, Bilgham, or Balaam, calls himself הַגֶּבֶר שְׁתֻם הָעָיִן, the man opened as to his eyes, κατὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμους: Eng. Vers. *whose eyes are opened*. Margin, who had his eyes shut, but now opened. Vulg. cujus obturatus est oculus. LXX. ὁ ἀληθινῶς ὁρῶν.

Verses 4 and 16. He calls himself no longer a man, גֶּבֶר, but simply uses the relative אֲשֶׁר who; verbatim, *he who fell and his eyes open*. Eng. Vers. falling [into a trance], but [having] his eyes open. נֹפֵל וּגְלוּי עֵינָיִם—LXX. ἀποκεκαλυμμένοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ. Vulg. qui cadit et sic aperiuntur oculi ejus.

that *βασκαίνειν* seems related at least to the spirit which prompted such eyeing, or which occasioned such evil results: hence the grammatical derivation among them, *φαέσι καίνω*—almost as we say to "devour with the eyes."

But if I might be permitted, I would beg with great deference to offer a conjecture of my own with regard to the origin of the word *βασκαίνω*.

We remember that in Exod. xii. the passover is ordained—that a Lamb was to be slain by the Jews, and with a bunch of hyssop (v. 22), having dipped it into the blood, they were to strike the lintel and the two side-posts with the blood; and none were to go out of the door of their house—until morning.

V. 23—For the Lord will go through (עָבַר) to smite the Egyptians, and when he seeth the blood on the lintel and on the two side-posts, the Lord will *pass over* (פָּסַח) the doors, and will not suffer the destroyer to come into your (the Jewish) houses to smite you.

V. 43—This is the observance of the *passover* פֶּסַח—LXX. *οὗτος ὁ νόμος τοῦ πάσχα.*—Vulg. Hæc est Religio *Phasc.* Hence I deduce *φασκ* = *βασκ*, *βάσκω*, *βασκαίνω*, as *φάω φαίνω*, and for the following reasons:

The Egyptians having observed (v. 29) that terrible night,—"that from the first-born of Pharaoh who sat on his throne, to the first-born of the captive who was in his prison, and the first-fruit of all cattle,"—all were stricken and died,—(30), and that there was not a house in which there was not *one* dead; (31, 32) and that Pharaoh urged them to go, saying bless me;

(33), "and the people urged them to depart, for they said, lest we *all* die."

Having also seen and heard of the destruction of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea (ch. xiv. v. 23, *seq.*)—they would naturally reason with themselves—1st, about the preparations which they had seen the people make, while the children outside the doors would have been questioned by the Egyptian people.

2ndly, Many would have seen the striking the blood on the lintels of the door in the afternoon (xii. 22), with a bundle of (אֵזוֹב אֲגֻדַּת), hyssop—dipped in blood—would have been told of the cooking of the lamb (xii. 8), and eating with bitter herbs (מְרֹרִים).

3rdly, Many would examine the marks after—and the bunches of different herbs in the back premises—would recollect that in *those houses* not one died; while in *all* other places some *one* or some animal *did* die.

4thly, Many would recollect the *word* that some of the children or passers-by might have heard, the word פֶּסַח—Vulg. *Phasc*, as having a relation to all these things.

Other things are in coincidence with this *idea*—viz. *μάλιστα παίδας*,[2] chiefly children were subject thereto.

[1] אֵזוֹב. Gr. Ὑσσωπος, *hyssopus*, malè.—Vulg. rosmarinus; Kimchi, *Origanum—hyssopus*. Spec. Plant. Willd. iii. 47. Cl. 14. ord. 1. *Didynamia Gymnospermia*, Nat. ord. *Verticillatæ*, Linn. Labiatæ, Juss.—*Officinalis*, common hyssop; native of Siberia and Austria.

[2] Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀφροδισείως βιβ.β. Πρόβλημα νγ.—Διὰ τί τίνες βασκαίνουσι καὶ μάλιστα παίδας, διότι πολλὴν ἔχουσιν εὐπάθειαν καὶ τρόπην τῆς φύσεως.

And tender lambs.[1]

Hence *βασκαίνω* came to signify the *visitation*, and *βάσκανος* the *remedy; βασκανίον*, "*fascinum*," the thing itself.

I suggest, therefore, that *βασκαίνω* comes from the *Phasc* of the Hebrews in Egypt.

This idea is strengthened by smiths (*χαλκεῦσιν*) hanging charms, *βασκανία*, over their shops,[2] as we may suppose many of them to have been, as now, Egyptians—Gypsies.

By those who went in triumph having a "fascinum" suspended under the chariot,[3] as if against the ill fate of the Biblical Pharaoh, and a bulla on their breast.[4]

By privacy being considered as a preventive: hence the famous Greek sentence, rendered by Valletta (Sulla Jettatura, Napoli. p. 145), latendum esse dum vivimus, ut feliciter vivamus.

So Catullus (Carm. v. 10) hints—

> Dein cum millia multa fecerimus,
> Conturbabimus illa, ne sciamus
> An ne quis malus invidere possit,

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[1] Virg. Ec. III. Nescio quis teneros oculis mihi fascinat agnos.

[2] Jul. Poll. VII. ch. XXIV. § 108.

Πρὸ δὲ τῶν καμίνων τοῖς χαλκεῦσιν ἔθος ἦν γελοιά τινα καταρτᾶν, ἢ ἐπιπλάττειν ἐπὶ φθόνου ἀποτροπῇ ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ βασκάνια, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἔφη·

Πλὴν εἴ τίς πρίοιτο δεόμενος βασκανίου ἐπὶ κάμινον ἀνδρὸς χαλκέως.

[3] Plin. XXVIII. 7. . . . Fascinus imperatorum quoque . . . custos . . . et currus triumphantium, sub his pendens, defendit, medicus invidiæ. (Apud Pitiscum.)

[4] Mac. Sat. I. vi. *Bulla* gestamen erat triumphantium, quam in triumpho præ se gerebant, inclusis intra eam remediis quæ crediderint adversus invidiam valentissima . . . (Ed. Maire, p. 179.)

And Horace, Ep. I. xiv.—

> Non isthic obliquo oculo mea commoda quisquam
> Limat, non odio obscuro morsuque venenat:

which privacy is alluded to by Aristotle, § xx. p. 34, with regard to people inviting any one to the private table.

All which latter circumstances seem to tally with the secrecy with which the passover was eaten.

Add to this the other symbols—the bunches of herbs being hung up in the house,—*rosemary*, one signification given to אזוב, hyssop. . . . . Porta de Mag. Nat.

Trinkets, and different symbols and precious stones, seem all to allude to what the Jews took away when they spoiled the Egyptians.—Ex. xii. 34—36.[1]

The same effects are noticed in various Greek authors, as, for instance,

Aristophanes.—We have already seen that *Penia*, in the Nubes, was a famous "fascinatrix," *βάσκανος οὖσα*. (p. 3.)

Athenæus, Deipnosophistoi, VI. ch. ii. p. 226. D. Casaub. Lugd. 1512—speaking of the Scythians from Antiphanes, says—*οὐχὶ μὰ Δία τίτθας εἰσαγόνσι βασκάνους*—"For Heaven's sake do not let the nurses be witches."

Aulus Gellius, IX. 4, says he bought some books off an old book-stall at Brindisi, in which he read of

[1] Ex. xii. 34—And the people took their dough before it was leavened, their kneading-troughs being bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders.* (35) . . . and they borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment. (36) . . . and they spoiled the Egyptians.

* The fascinum was found over *bakers' shops* at Pompeii.

women of Illyria with double pupils in their eyes, who were terrible "witches," as he afterwards read in Pliny, N. H. VII. 2.

So Plutarch (Symp. v. quest. vii.), and Heliodorus (Æthiop. III.).

So Ælian (II. 13), speaking of the Satire of Aristophanes against Socrates, says—*'Αθηναῖοι βασκάνειν ἀρίστοι προειρούμενοι*—by which he shows that the Athenians were famous "fascinatores" for the evil eye.

The Latin authors bear testimony to the same facts, which I shall now for the sake of brevity arrange under heads, and matter.

It would appear from all the testimonies I have gathered on the subject, that fascination, fascinum, *βασκανία*, was supposed to be—

Definition—'*A malignant influence from the eye*, [or other part of a person, animal, or thing,] *affecting the air surrounding the person, or animal, or thing* affected.' Heliodorus, Æthiop. III.

And that both causes and subjects or objects are men, women, animals, reptiles, plants, herbs, stones, and other substances. Children are not the *causes*, but the *subjects*.

And whatever it was, we shall proceed to consider it,—

1st (Human.)—*From the Eye.*[1]

Plutarch (Symp. v. quest. vii.) speaks of certain

[1] There is a remarkable passage in Varro de L. L. VI. 80, on the eye.—Video a vi quinque enim sensuum maximus in oculis; nam quom sensus nullus quod obsit mille passus sentiri possit; oculorum sensus vis usque pervenit ad stellas, hinc visenda visitant, vigilium, invident, et Attianum illud "oculis violavit qui vidit invidendum."

eyes which destroyed children and weakly people, and of the Thebans about Pontus who destroyed even men.

Pliny, N. H. VII. 2—about the Triballi and Illyrii who hurt all on whom they gazed, "*iratis oculis*," and those before quoted from Gellius, with double pupils.

Horace (Ep. I. xiv.) speaks of the retreat he possessed in the country which people would not envy, "*obliquo oculo*."

Virgil (Ec. III.) speaks of the tender lambs being "fascinated" ("*oculis*") with the eyes of some one.

Ovid[1] speaks of the Telchines *destroying* every thing with the very look; and again—of the fulminating with the double pupil.[2]

By word.—Pliny[3] tells us of whole families in Africa, by whose praises, herds, flocks, trees, children, &c. were all destroyed.

By touch, as, frequently alluded to in Naples, in regard to some persons who invariably let fall what they touch, or the flower they handle withers, on which the Neapolitans exclaim "Jettatore!"

The same influence said to be *in animals.*

The *basilisk* . . . . a serpent in Egypt, was said to

[1] Ov. Met. VII. 365—

> Phœbeamque Rhodon, et Ialysios Telchinas,
> Quorum oculos ipso vitiantes omnia visu
> Jupiter exosus, fraternis subdidit undis.

[2] Amor. I. Eleg. VIII. de Art. Amandi—

> . . . . . oculis quoque pupilla duplex
> Fulminat.

[3] Plin. VII. 2.—In eadem Africa, familias quasdam effascinentium, Isigonus et Nymphodorus quorum laudatione, intereant probata, arescant arbores, emoriantur infantes.

destroy trees and fruits, and corrupt the very air around it (Pliny, N. H. VIII. 21, Solinus, c. 20); and Platina (Vit. Johannis IV.) speaks of a *regulus* . . . . at Rome, whose very breath killed those around it. The rattlesnake is said to fascinate the nightingale (Hist. Nat.); the crow (Virg.), and owl, &c. to be of *ill omen.*

In plants.

Pliny (lib. XXIV. ad initium) and Abbé Vallemont (Curios. de la Natura) tell us of the sympathy and antipathy of plants, trees, &c.; that the following flourish well together:—the *fig* and *rue*, the *vine* and *poplar.*

That on the contrary the following languish together:—*rosemary* and *laurel* or *laurel* and *vine*, *vine* and *cabbage*, *cabbage* and *olive*, *olive* and *oak*.[1]

But you may frequently see the olive and vine and vine and fig together about Monte Porzio, near Rome, and on Posilipo, Naples.

Subjects,—*objects* subject to it.

Tender and delicate children, especially those who have great expectations, or are very promising, or beautiful.

Persons, elated by praise, or property or happiness of any kind, as emperors or others in triumph.

[1] Bacon accounts for this by the fitness or unfitness of the same soil, or that one draws nourishment from the other, and the weaker languishes.

In the Molucca Islands no vegetables will grow near the *clove* plants.

Cabbages destroy fruit-trees which are near their influence.

Some plants are again "*parasites*," living as it were on other plants.

So the *orobanche*, commonly growing on the roots of other plants, which it destroys: so the *cuscuta*, *epidentri*, *visco*, *hypocistis*.

Those who were highly praised or commended by others, to which Tertullian alludes (de Virg. Veland.).

Plautus in the "Asinaria" alludes to the same custom prevailing at Athens.[1]

Charisius (Gram. lib. IV.) seems to allude to the same custom—begging a person to add "præficini"—lest a girl whom he praises should be bewitched.[2]

Deities.

Nemesis—to the image of whom in the Capitol Pliny alludes.[3]

Fascinus, especially the patron of children and emperors, also mentioned by Pliny.[4]

Cunina, patroness of infants.[5]

Priapus.

Persons.—So when the merchant had bought the deformed dwarfish Æsop from Zenas, and taken him home, the servants could not imagine why he

[1] Plautus, Asinaria, Act. II. Sc. iv. 84.

"Præficini hoc nunc dixerim: nemo etiam me accusavit
Merito meo: neque me Athenis est alter hodie quisquam,
Cui credi rectè æquè putent."

[2] Charis. Gram. lib. IV.—"Pol tu ad laudem addito 'præficini' ne puella fascinetur," Ger. Joh. Vossius thinks these last three words are added by the Grammarian himself. See also 'Hieronymus Frascatorius de Antipath. et Sympath.'

[3] Plin. XXVIII. 5. . . . Græcam Nemesin invocantes. . .

[4] Plin. XXVIII. 7. . . . non solum infantium custos.

[5] Cunina a cunis, Lactant. de Falsa Religione, I. 20—Grut. Inscript. p. 96.

CVNINAE FELICI.

See also, Bartholinus de Puerp. p. 159; Gyraldus Syntag. Deor. I. p. 48; Alsarius de Invidia et Fascino Veterum, Libellus Luccæ, 1595; Grævius, Thes. Antiq. Rom. tom. xii. p. 897; Meursius de Puerp. apud Pitiscum, verb. "Fascinum," &c.

had bought so deformed an object unless it was to be as a "fascinus" to the house.[1]

Remedies against it.—Rites, ceremonies, practices.

It was a *rite* to twist or make a "fascia" of different coloured threads, Virg. Ec. VIII. 73:

> Terna tibi hæc primum triplice diversa colore
> Licia circumdo . . .

Ib. 77:

> Necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores.

Thread of divers colours was used in charms (Potter, Archæolog. II. 257), and often hung about the necks of infants (*ib.* I. 359): from the commentators on Persius, II. 31, to run round and round the child bewitched, in the open air, throwing incense around it, . . . says Joh. Bap. Porta (Neap. de Mag. Nat. 1619)—was the custom with the ancients, and in his own day.

To spit into the bosom.[2]

Callimachus, as quoted by the Scholiast on Theocritus, Idyll. VI.

> Δαίμων, τοὶ κόλποισιν ἐπιπτύουσι γύναικες.
> The women have spit in thy bosom.

So Theocritus, Idyll. VI. 33, says there is no chance of his being "bewitched," for

> τρὶς εἰς ἐμὸν ἔπτυσα κόλπον.[3]

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[1] ὡς ἔοικεναι τὶ βασκανίου τοῦτον τῆς οἰκίας ὠνήσατο. Maximi Planudis Æsop. Vita ad Fab. præfixa ed. Genevæ, 1628, 12mo.

[2] Cl. Ælian. Var. Hist. alludes to this custom, lib. I. XV.—ὁ ἄῤῥην ἐμπτύει αὐτοις (τοῖς νεοττοῖς) ἀπτελαυνων αὖτων τὸν φθόνον, φασιν, ἵνα μὴ βασκανθῶσι δι' ἄρα τοῦτο. Theocr. Idyll. VI. 39.; Schol. in Theocr. Ibid. ed. Gaisford.

[3] It was common to reprove arrogant persons by bidding them

Pliny (N. H. xxviii. § vii. ed. Delph. 4to. Par. 1685) seems to make this a common practice: the nurse, on any stranger looking at a child while sleeping, spit three times. The same custom, nearly, prevails in Naples at this day. Neapolitan nurses spit towards any stranger who enters the apartment where children are asleep.

The Russians (at this day), if their children are praised for beauty, &c., spit on them.

To take upon oneself some voluntary mortification, such as that mentioned by Herodotus, iii. 30, of Polycrates, who secured the continuance of his good fortunes by throwing into the sea, on the advice of Amasis, a ring of great value.

Not to boast of any prosperity, whence that famous saying of the Greeks, already cited,—live secretly *if* thou wouldst live happily.

It is custom still in Ireland not to visit a family after the birth of a child without taking a present, "*for fear of spoiling the beauty of the child.*"

Animals.

The skin of the *forehead* of the hyæna.—Pliny, xxii. 3.

The tail of the wolf.—Pars caudæ prodesse viris quos fascina vexant.—(Rosæus in Venat.; Torreblanca de Magia, ii. 52; ap. Vallettam Sulla Jettatura).

The goat's horn.

Rings of the hoof of the wild or domestic ass.—Porta.[1]

εἰς κόλπους πτύειν, according to Potter, Arch. Græc. i. ch. xviii. and from Lucian, Πλοίῳ ἢ Εὐχαῖς.

[1] Hence, possibly, the origin of nailing the horns of an animal,

Insects.—So Pisistratus is said to have hung the figure of a τέττιξ[1] before the Acropolis: Hesychius, *Καταχήνη*, derision, from *καταχαίνω*: Scap. Might this have been an allusion to the Egyptian locust plague?

Herbs.

Rue.—Aristot. sect. xx. prob. 34.—"*Why people consider rue as good against fascination—witchcraft.*"

The reason Aristotle gives is briefly this, that the Greeks, unaccustomed to have any one at their private table, when they had, were nervous and ate quickly —whereby suffering from flatulency and indigestion, they fancied themselves bewitched: rue acting as an emetic or antidote to flatulency, &c., they considered it a remedy against fascination.

Alysson,[2] as if against *lyssa*, madness, (mad-wort,)

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a fox's tail, an owl, a heron, the skin of a mole, stoat, &c. against stable doors to keep out goblins.

[1] The Athenians were sometimes called τεττιγες, and wore golden τεττιγες in their hair and as badges. Virgil in the "Ciris" alludes to this custom—

> Ergo omnis caro residebat cura capillo:
> Aurea solemni comptum quum fibula ritu
> Cecropiæ* tereti nectebat dente *cicadæ*.

Γηγενεις, sons of the earth.—Hesychius sub verb. The τέττιξ is supposed to refer to the autochthonous origin of the Athenians. The tettix is not a *grasshopper*, but a dipterous insect, which in the larva state lives in the earth, and then comes out and sings or buzzes on the trees when metamorphosed.

[2] Alysson *herba*, vulgò Spanish horehound, or mad-wort, de qua Dioscor. lib. III. 105. Plin. XXIV. 2—Sic appellata quòd à cane

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* Al. Mopsopio al. Corsellæ. Virg. op. Leovardiæ, 4to. "Ciris," lin. 128. Not. Lindenbruchii.

Dioscorides, III. 97, which, being hung up in the house, was good against "fascinations." So *rhamnus* (blackthorn), and *phu* (a kind of nard).

Baccharis, lady's glove or clown's spikenard, also is mentioned by Dioscorides, III. 46, as being an astringent, and preventing the dilations occasioned by over praise.

Hyssop, and the *lily*, preventives by smell.—Porta de Mag.

Satyrion, or rag-wort (Id.), called also *orchis;* and the stone of the fruit of a kind of palm.—Plin. XIII. 9.[1] *Date.*

The onion, which the devil is said to respect, because it was an object of worship as well as himself.—M. de Lancre ap. Vallettam.

Scents. — Incense, cloves, ciper, xilaloe, musk, amber.

Stones, amulets, symbols.

Democritus of Abdera was said to keep by him the famous soft adherent stone of Corsica, called "*catochites.*"

So the carbuncle, hyacinth, sapphire, and other precious stones hung about the neck, were considered as charms; so also coral and shells.

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commorsus rabiem sentire non patiatur. Compare also Galen. Plut. Symp. III.

So Marrubium, mad-wort—Marrubium vulgare, common horehound — Alyssum Galeni or marrubium verticillatum, seu Hispanicum, the base horehound, or Spanish horehound.

[1] Pliny, XIII. 9—"lignum in pomo (palmæ sc.) . . . osseum lunatumque, dente contra fascinantes religione politum."

The throwing away of the date stones (by one who was eating the fruit) is given as a bad omen in the 'Arabian Nights' Tales.'

The phallus and satyrica signa.

Varro de L. L. VI.—Pueris turpicula res in collo suspenditur ne quid obsit bonæ scævæ causa.

Pliny, XIX. iv. says that in gardens and over doors "satyrica signa" were hung to avoid bewitchment. These signs Vossius considers analogous to *fascinum*.[1]

So Horace, Sat. I. 8, 3.

> . . . . . Deus inde ego, furum, aviumque
> Maxima formido: nam fures dextra coërcet,
> Obscœnoque ruber porrectus ab inguine palus;

And Virgil, Geor. IV. 110—

> Et custos furum atque avium, cum falce saligná;
> Hellespontiaci servet tutela Priapi.

Columella de Hort. Cult. vers. 31, de Priapo.

> Arboris antiquæ numen venerant Ithyphalli[2]
> . . . . . medio semper in horto
> . . . . . prædoni falce minatur.

Julius Pollux, VII. xxiv. § 108, alluded to the *sign* over smiths' shops and furnaces, — something — γελοῖα.

The bulla (Macrobius, I. 6) hung before those going in triumph, and children, filled with antidotes, herbs, &c.: its form was that of a half-moon (Plut. Quest.

[1] The phallus, or male fascinus, is over the bakers' shops, with 'hic habitat felicitas,' at Pompeii: consult also Payne Knight's Hist. of Priapus.

[2] Note on p. 19 of Jul. Firmici Materni De errore prof. Religion, Joan. a Wower, ed. Oxon. 1662, and p. 86, and Lucian de Dea Syria, c. 16.

Rom. 99; Prop. IV. l. 131; Juven. v. 165; Scheffer De Torq. c. 5).

Ornaments of this kind were worn by the Egyptian judges, made of precious stones.—Diod. Sic. I. p. 148.

We may notice the breast-plate of the Jews.[1]—Ælian. Var. Hist. XIV. 34, seems to allude to this kind of ornaments.

Verses.—Plin. H. N. XXVIII. 4, and Virg. Ec. VIII. 69—

> Carmina vel cœlo possunt deducere Lunam:
> Carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulyxi:
> Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.[2]

So the snake-songs of India.

The Fescennine verses.

Hor. (Epist. II. i. 145.

> Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
> Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.

At the gathering of the vintage, rustics made *jokes* on the passers-by to avert *envious eyes.* Hor. Sat. I. vii. 29.

> . . . . . durus
> Vindemiator et invictus, cui sæpe viator
> Cessisset, magna compellans voce "Cucullum."

To these were added bracelets, necklaces of *shells*, coral, precious stones, *coral, or horn*—horns of animals —the *hand* with first and *little finger* extended

[1] The present belief in its existence (evil eye) in the *East* is gathered from *Dallaway's 'Account of Constantinople,'* against which passages of the "Koran" are painted on the houses, as the "phylacteres" were worn by Jews—glass balls (perhaps from the bulla) are hung in the houses.

[2] The custom of charming away rats is frequently resorted to in Ireland; a piper having been called in for this purpose was alluded to in a country paper recently.

—the *pig*—the *horse-shoe*—the *jesuit's hat*—*priest's hat*—*a heart*—(Macrobius, I. vi. seems to allude to this last having been within the bulla)[1]—*shoe*—*compass*—builder's *square*.

Mediæval and modern facts.—Monks.

In the Middle Ages a curious instance is given by Valletta from Erchempertus about A. D. 842, who speaks of Landulfus, Bishop of Capua, who was accustomed to say: "Quoties Monachum visu cerno, semper mihi futura dies auspicia tristia subministrabat."—(D. Erchemperti Monast. Casienensis ad Hist. Pauli Diaconi de Gestis Longobardorum usque ad an. 886.—Muratori, tom. ii. apud Vallettam).

The same belief exists now in Naples.[2] I could mention many instances which came under my own observation.

I was one day going to Casserta in company with some jesuits; half-way we met a "Capuchin," who saluted us humbly. Having returned the salutation, O mal ora! un jettatore! exclaimed a Padre. The horse in our carriage fell, and so seriously injured

[1] Sat. I. vi. p. 180—Nonnulli credunt ingenuis pueris attributum ut cordis figuram in bulla ante pectus annecterent; quam inspicientes ita demum se homines cogitarent, si corde præstarent.

Some have seen in this a contradiction of Plutarch, who says the bulla was like a half-moon; but Macrobius only says that the figure or *symbol* of the heart might have been annexed to or put in the bulla, which was hollow.—Scheffer apud Pitiscum.

[2] In the south of Italy and in Sicily, the belief in the evil eye is more intense; and numberless signs are used against it, as before mentioned. The horses of "Vettúre" and common agricultural conveyances, &c. have brass ornaments on their breasts and backs. Similar customs may be noticed elsewhere. Thus Sir Walter Scott, in his 'Demonology and Witchcraft,' alludes to it in the North.

a part of the vehicle, that we were obliged to walk the rest of the way.

There was a noble duke whom all in Naples considered a "jettatore." If he praised any, they fell ill. Once on his entering a ball-room the chandelier in the centre fell. On congratulating his nieces that they were going to a sixteenth ball that season, a letter arrived announcing the death of their aunt. And the strongest belief prevails among all classes in the south of Italy.

Before concluding this subject I may be permitted to make a few observations on a Paper by Mr. Millingen in the Archæologia, vol. xix. pp. 70–72, on a bas-relief, which, though he does not tell us where found, he considers to be in date about the time of Septimus Severus, and to have been a monument ordered by the head of some band of gladiators (on account of the "lanista"), and to allude to the Bacchic and Mithraic worship, and to represent *also* the "*Evil Eye.*"

As regards the date or destiny of the monument, I will venture no opinion;—with regard to the Mithraic worship, I feel persuaded the monument does allude to it. I cannot say, however, that I find any proof for its relation to the "evil eye." Neither can I make up my mind to Mr. Weston's opinion (p. 90) in the same volume,—that it is the *cave* of Mithras, in which the candidates for honours were exposed to beasts and scorpions, and to a thousand plagues more dreadful than those of the Fakirs of India, before they were accounted worthy of admission to the rites.

But I seem to see a simple Mithraic "tableau" of

the attributes of the Sun. For in Macrob. Sat. lib. I. xxi. I read first . . . Solem, Jovis oculum appellat antiquitas . . . and here the eye is surmounted by the Mithraic figure.

I next read in Macrob. (I. xvii.), that the Hierapolitani, a race of Assyria, represent all the effects of the Sun in *one* figure, with certain attributes, among which was the Dragon. Macrobius continues, "Draconis effigies flexuosum iter sideris monstrat."

"*Leo*" was a symbol signifying the Sun's heat (Mac. I. xxi.), on which is remarked "validus est Leo pectore et priore corporis parte:" therefore it is, I apprehend, that only the breast is here shown.

"*Scorpio*," another sign of the Zodiac, is the *middle* of the *autumn*, as *Leo* is of the *summer*.

Again, we read in Hyginus (lib. II. de Cœlest. Sign. Capricorn.), that in the time of the terrible Typhon, according to the Egyptians, Apollo was changed into a *crane*, which was a Thracian bird, and that the *crow* was under the peculiar patronage of Apollo.

I confess I find a difficulty as regards the sitting posture of the figure—and some also as to the figure with a trident.

And it is therefore with great deference that I suggest the following with regard to the bearings of the above quoted texts on the representation in question.

1st, I believe it in accordance with them and with the truth to suppose that one representation might combine many events, attributes, or incidents, which seems sanctioned by Macrobius.[1]

[1] Mac. Sat. I. xvii. and I. xx. (253). Præterea Sacrorum ad-

2ndly, That in a mystic representation historical facts may be referred to as well as attributes, as we know from the descriptions of other representations, statues, pictures, &c., the ancients did often represent different circumstances relating to one object.

These observations being premised, there would seem certain passages related of Apollo, to which this representation may allude, and the more probably so if the bas-relief be so late as the time of Septimus Severus.

I therefore beg to call attention to the fact that Mythologists inform us that when, as sung by Pindar,[1] Æsculapius, the son of Apollo, had been killed by a thunderbolt for raising the dead to life, the latter killed the *Cyclops* who had fabricated the thunderbolt.

May not, then, this bas-relief refer to an attack on the eye of this Cyclops by all the attributes of Mithras—the lion, scorpion, *python*, crane, crow, and by Neptune?[2] And again, as in the dispute about the Isthmus of Corinth, Briareus, the Cyclops, was mutually chosen by Apollo and Neptune to act as umpire, may not the tableau also indicate the promontory having been adjudged to Apollo, and the Isthmus to Neptune, who is standing with one

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ministrationes apud Ægyptios *multiplici actu* multiplicem dei asserunt potestatem.

[1] Pyth. III.

[2] Neptune and Apollo we know were Trojan deities, Dardanus having first brought them from Samothrace in Phrygia, when Æneas conveyed them from Troy to Italy.—Mac. Sat. III. iv. ed. Meursii, p. 324, from P. Nigidius and Varro.

foot on the sea behind, and the other on the Isthmus?

I only hint at this solution till a better be found by abler scholars.

Thus the tableau would be—

1st, The mystic representation of Mithras, his attributes, and his *good and evil influences.*

2ndly, His judgment on Briareus.

3rdly, His partition of Corinth with Neptune.

A difficulty occurs to me as to the position of the Mithraic figure; but may it not represent the evil influences of the Sun? "*Solis enim calor* qui nimium fervet quando annus in æstate est; et hieme tepescit, *putrefacit carnes* æstate, non hieme."—Mac. e Disario, lib. VII. c. xvi. p. 551.

To represent which heat the lion is specially introduced, because . . . . impetu et calore præstat animalia, ut præstat sol sidera: Mac. I. xxi. (257) . . . nescio quæ proprietas quam Græci *Ἰδίωμα* vocant, *et quædam natura inest lumini quod de ea defluit; quæ humectet corpora et velut occulto rore madefaciat; cui admistus calor—ipse lunaris—putrefacit:* VII. xvi. (551).

We will not dispute here the difference of the natural philosophical principles, nor the lunar light,[1] but we insist on the "emanations said to be occasioned by light in its pestilential effect."

This is further corroborated by the following:

1st, The Sun, source of good and evil, but evil more

[1] Lunar light,—for Mac. I. xvii. (233), Sat. . . . . similes sunt solis effectus lunæ in juvando nocendoque: ideo feminas certis afflictas morbis *Σεληνοβλήτους καὶ Ἀρτήμιδοβλήτους* vocant: hinc est quod arcu et sagittis Apollinis simulacra decorantur.

rarely[1] = his healthful name: *Οὖλιον, οὐλέ τε καὶ μάλα χαῖρε*, Homer (apud Mac. I. xvii. Sat.).

2ndly, Source of evil . . . . . Apollinem[2] modo *sospitatem* modo *pestem* significantibus nominibus adorandum.

Therefore I suggest the *eye* as representing the *benign* influence, and the position of the figure the pestilential attributes.

[1] Sed quia perpetuam præstat salubritatem, et *pestilens* ab ipso casus *rarior* est: ideo Apollinis simulacra *manu dextrâ* Gratias gestant, arcum cum sagittis sinistrâ: quòd ad noxam sit pigrior.—Mac. Sat. I. xvii. 235.

[2] Id. I. xvii.

XII.—ON A REMARKABLE INSCRIPTION OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.

BY SAMUEL BIRCH, ESQ.

(Read June 28th, 1854.)

I WISH to call the attention of the Society to the Inscription published by M. Lepsius in his Denkmaeler, Abth. II. Bl. 122, copied from what he calls the Tomb No. I. at Benihassan. This inscription has also been published by Champollion in his Monuments Egyptiens, tom. iv. Pl. CCCXV., although not in so full a form as the copy of M. Lepsius. It is taken from the lintels of the door of the sepulchre of a functionary named Ameni-Amenemha, adjoining that of Nahar, son of Numhept, so rich in its decorations illustrative of private life, and remarkable for the long recitations of the appointments held by that family in the Heptanomis. Following the Egyptian rule, which places the South before the North, and the East before the West, I will first touch on the general contents of the inscription on the Southern lintel.

The officer for whom it was engraved bears the name of Amenemha (*Amenemes*), with the surname of Ameni, one common at this period, and that of one of the kings who preceded the twelfth dynasty. He exercised the function of governor of a district which is called the "region of the gazelle," or

"goat," a district probably near his sepulchre, perhaps the city of *Sah*, for five-and-twenty years,[1] terminating his mortal career on the 15th of the month Paophi, in the 43rd year of the reign of Osortesen I. The deceased makes the usual invitation to the visitors to his tomb, that they should say that the gods should give him abundance of food and drink, oxen and geese. "Oh ye who love life and dread death—say ye (may the deceased have) abundance of food and drink, cattle and geese."[2] This refers to the feasts offered to the dead at certain festivals of the year, which are more amply detailed in the tomb of Nahar, son of Numhept, and are the constant object of sepulchral memorials during the preceding dynasties. The object of the subsequent part of the inscription is to record the services of the deceased, and in this respect it resembles the inscription at Eileithyias,[3] in

[1] The phrase here is *kheft*, 'when.' Cf. Champollion, Gram. Eg. p. 505. This occurs also in the Tablet, Lepsius, Auswahl. Taf. x.; Young, Hieroglyph. Pl. lxi., in stating the synchronism of the two years. See the same, Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. ii. Bl. 123 e.

[2] The phrase here reads *a meru ankh mesttu mut gu tn kha em hept hek aha apt*. Cf. Lepsius, Denkm. ii. Bl. 142 b. This is frequently addressed to those who cross or pass by sepulchral monuments, whether tablets, statues, or shrines, and is sometimes addressed to all living upon earth, whether prophets, priests, spondists, or embalmers. They are also adjured by more tender and importunate exhortations, as they desire their names to remain on earth, to transmit their dignities to their children, or as they love and obey the gods of Egypt. In one instance it is, "as ye wish to flourish on earth and pass to the blest." Lepsius, Denk. iii. Bl. 123 f, 142 b.

[3] Cf. Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. Bl. 12; M. de Rougé, Tombeau d'Ahmes, 4to, Paris, 1852.

which the deceased speaks in the first person, as if he were still living, an ego-ism of constant recurrence in Egyptian literature; for not only is it often used on the monuments, but it is constantly found in the classical authorities who have translated from the hieroglyphics. The speeches of Isis and of Chronos in Diodorus,[4] the declarations of Sesostris translated by Herodotus[5] and Diodorus,[6] and the inscriptions upon the late gems and abraxades, prominently introduce it to our notice.[7]

The first statement that Ameni makes is, that he served his lord when he went to the war in the South, for at this time Æthiopia had not been entirely subjected.

"I served,"[8] he is made to say, "my lord when he went[9] to overthrow his enemies in the subjected

[4] Diod. I. c. 27.

[5] Herodot. II. 106.

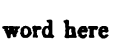
[6] Diod. I. c. 55.

[7] Cf. Tassie's Gems, p. 4 et seq., especially those which have the Coptic ANOK XNOTBIC. Matter. J. Histoire du Gnosticisme. 8vo. Par. 1828. Pl. II. A. 5.

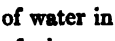
[8] Here the verb to 'serve,' *shes*, cf. M. Bunsen, Egypt's Place, p. 589, has its phonetic elements transposed, an occurrence by no means uncommon on monuments of this period. Its meaning is 'to follow.'

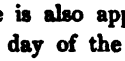
[9] The word is determined by a galley sailing in the opposite way the hieroglyphs face; hence evidently to depart or sail away. There is some difficulty in knowing whether the true phonetic value is *fent*, which some read, or *sent*, or rather *sen*, or *sen sen*, to which I incline. It is often used in antithesis to *khet*, to navigate, or come to a place, hence to sail away. In the inscription at Karnak, Lepsius, Auswahl. Taf. XII. l. 4, it mentions 'his majesty proceeding, departing to Egypt' (*senti er kam*), as here he left Egypt *er s'kher gu f*, to overthrow his enemies.

countries;[10] I departed as the son of a chief, a seal-bearer, a captain of infantry, a chief of *Sah*, leaving[11] my noble father, when ordered by the Palace and desired[12] by the Court.[13] I

[10] The word here is  *atu* or *tau*, with the determinative of a prisoner with his hands tied behind him. The same expression occurs in the Karnak Tablet of Thothmes III., Lepsius, Auswahl. XII. 34, where it speaks of the account of the tribute brought by the king himself from the "said land, the destitute [?] of Mesopotamia." Cf. also the phrase *aat*, 'destitute,' in Papyrus, Sallier, I. line 1, and elsewhere, although not necessarily the same. Perhaps rather bound or conquered country.

[11] Lepsius, Denkm. II. 126. The word *aten*, or *tan*, with the determinative of the cypher 10, appears to be only an old form of *tna*, to divide. See Lepsius, Todt. Taf. XLVI. 125 a, 10. "I divide[d] no arm of water in its course." The determinative occurs in the rubric of the same chapter, Ibid., as p *k h* [*k h*] *a*, to divide, as the Book of going to the Hall of Truths, "every one is divided from [his] sins," &c. The same phrase is also applied to the festival of the divided or half month, the day of the festival of the 6th of the month and half month. Lepsius, Todt. I. 1, l. 8. Hence in this case probably *em tna sa atf a aau*, "as one leaving my noble father." It was not in place of his father, for that was differently expressed.

[12] The restoration here should be  *merat*, 'wished,' or 'desired,' rather than *her . ut*, on account of the perpetual antithesis between this verb, *mer*, and that of *hes*. Cf. for example, Lepsius, Todt. I. l. 15, *aka f hesut her ef merut*, 'he goes in [to the Hades] as ordered, he comes out when he likes.' Cf. also Archæologia, vol. XXXIV. p. 362. n. c.; M. De Rougé, Mém. p. 38–45–50.

[13]  *satp*, 'the approved place,' is here used in antithesis to 'royal house' or 'palace,' and the two seem like the synonymes of 'the two royal houses of Health,' which

opened [14] Kash, Æthiopia: in my voyages I took the whole. I brought all the tribute of my lord [15] (the king). My praise it reaches to heaven. My lord went in peace; he overthrew his enemies in the vile (Æthiopia) Kash. I went in his service as a volunteer.[16] None [of the enemy] could escape [17]

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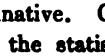
expressed the monarch in the same sense as Court does in English. Cf. Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. III. 39, 51, "I am beloved of the king," and Ibid. 55 a, line 2.

[14] The verb *sen*, means to open. The proof of this will be found in the mystical description of the Hall of Truth. Lepsius, Todt. XLIX. c. 125, l. 57. "I do not open, *sen*, says the gate, unless you will tell my name." Cf. M. Bunsen, Egypt's Place, p. 586, no. 24.

[15] The group *teru*, with the road after it, probably means (I led captive) the whole (of the earth). The laconic mode of expression which follows may mean either *han neb a*, 'the tribute of my lord,' or 'all my tribute.' The group it now appears, should be read *hannu*, cf. Lepsius, Denkm. III. Bl. 115, 116 b., not *En* or *N*, as hitherto.

[16] The phrase *sept*, by 'choice,' occurs often after ankh uga snab—as *sept hes, mer*, "prepared, ordered, wished." Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 222. The phrase is *Ai na her shes f em sept*. The 4th sign, the face, is determinative. Champollion, Gr. p. 356, reads *setp*, distinguish; but in the statistical tablet, M. Lepsius, Auswahl. XII. 12, it speaks of everybody approaching his majesty to offer? or supply. Troops are also said, M. Lepsius, Denk. Abth. II. Bl. 138 a, to be 'got ready' from the whole army, selected by the king from his numerous followers. Cf. also the passage, Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. Pl. 30, 'prepare,' 'sharpen,' or 'draw,' (sept) your swords, conquer the wicked.

[17] The word here  *uha*, probably means 'to escape,' and two parallel passages fixing the meaning of this word, and also the

my troops. I returned to bring the supplies[18] of the gold mines[19] of his majesty the king, the Sun, lord creator of existence (Osortesen I.); may he live for ever and ever. I have departed with the nomarch [of?] the eldest royal daughter of his race, Ameni, living. I went in person with 400[20] chosen troops. I came in peace; none escaped. I brought the gold; I obtained praise[21] on account of it from the kings." [?]

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value of the negative *ben* or *men*, may be advantageously consulted. Archæologia, xxiv. Pl. xxviii. l. 7, p. 389; Champollion, Mon. Eg. tom. i. Pl. xxxi. l. b.

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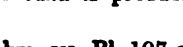
2. '*not* one of them escapes.'

[18] *ba* or *baku* is probably food or supplies, as in the phrase, Lepsius, Denkm. iii. Bl. 107 a,  *baku f em kha a*, "his food in my belly." The word much resembles that used for 'mine,' *bu*, Coptic ⲂⲰ, ⲂⲎⲂⲈ Lepsius, Denk. ii. 144 g; iii. 43 e.

[19] The usual group for gold, *nub*, has here the complement *bu* of the word *Nubu*, showing it to be the Coptic ⲚⲞⲦⲂ—here it may either be of the gold washings or miners.

[20] There is perhaps a doubt here whether this should be read *sha . t . a*, 'my bodies, my corps,' or *hebs a*, 'my reckoning' or number, as in the inscription I have already elsewhere cited, Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. N. Series, vol. ii. p. 324, 25, it occurs as a verb, to reckon. Lepsius, Denkm. ii. Bl. 13. Cf. Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 210.

[21] The phrase here is *Sha na hes ku her s em suten*, where *sha na* is evidently a grammatical form, as *hes ku* is a verb with the reflective first person singular after it, viz. *ku*. Possibly

With the exception of one or two comparatively unimportant details, the whole of this inscription can be translated; and it gives some additional information to the Paper I have already published on the gold mines of Æthiopia, the grand object of the Pharaonic expeditions to the South, which are perpetually alluded to in the votive and other inscriptions. Ameni boasts that he had been universally successful; that he had gone, leaving his father at that time an officer of the court, and in company with the officer of a princess of the same name, the eldest daughter of one of the two kings Amenemha I. or Osortesen I., probably the latter, for he was still living, and that as captain, *mer*, he commanded a convoy of 400 slaves or infantry, a number which shows the strength of an Egyptian regiment. These were all, as it appears from the inscription of the other wall, raised in the district of *Sah*, and conveyed down to the Nile to the Æthiopian campaign. The kings whom he alludes to at the end of the inscription were either Amenemha I. and Osortesen I., who jointly occupied the throne nine years, or the first-named monarch and one of his predecessors.

It is on the outer portion of the door of the sepulchre that a still more complete account is given of his titles, which at that early period were extensively conferred on functionaries of the Court. He was a *repa*, lord or duke,[22] a title sometimes disjoined from that

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as the eagle is the complement placed after the bunch of plants, it may be *Ha en na hes ku*, 'I was myself ordered there by the kings.'

[22] RPA is indifferently applied to both sexes, and must

of *ha*, archon, or governor of a district, although more often connected with it.[23] This dignity was bestowed on functionaries,[24] although it was often of an hereditary kind of nature, being conferred on the children of the deceased *repa*.[25] Here it is connected with a word apparently a title, also found in other inscriptions of the period.[26] Besides which, he also held the office of *sab ua*, 'a wise man,' or privy councillor[27]

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consequently have been a title rather than a charge. It was not hereditary, but conferred by the king, as may be seen on the inscription at Benihassan, for Nahar was advanced to the dignity, Lepsius, Denkm. III. Bl. 124 b. 47, to which his mother had also been promoted, Ibid. c. 64, 65, as the daughter of a ruler (*hek*) of the district of Sahu [the gazelle]. Queens often bore the title. Champollion, Mon. tom. i. Pl. v. 4. In the ritual the deceased says he has escaped punishment, *her enti anuk repe en uskh naa*, because I am the lord from, or, of the ..... Hall. Lepsius, Todt. x. 17, 78. There is also *repa* over the ..... [?] of the Hall, Lepsius, Denkm. II. 149; Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. 22, and a *repa* of the Gate or Hall. Lepsius, Denkm. II. 42 a. See also Rosellini, M. d. c. xxxvii.

[23] Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 250, gives a RPA HA eN TNI, a duke, governor of Tanis.

[24] Cf. the Inscription, Burton, Exc. Hier. Pl. xxvi.; Lepsius, Abth. II. Bl. 124, 125.

[25] I was appointed [by the king], says the duke Nahar, son of Numhept, "to be the lord, governor of the Eastern lands of Horus, and of Pasht [the Speos Artemidos], succeeding my father in the land of Mena-en-Khufu." Lepsius, Denkm. II. Bl. 124, l. 13, 18.

[26] Whether this is a separate title, or in connection with that of *Repa ha*, is difficult to decide. It occurs in the patent of Nahar, Lepsius, l. c., and elsewhere; Lepsius, Denk. II. 79, 124 b, l. 47. It may be a variation of *ama;* see Note 57. The same word in connection with corn is on the coffin of Nekhtherhebi. Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. Pl. 29.

[27] or Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 80,

and seal-bearer.[28] His chief office, however, and that which probably must be considered as of most interest, was, that he was governor of the district of a

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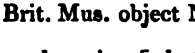
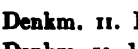
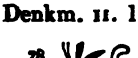
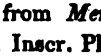
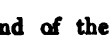
S a B Ua, only counsellor: a counsellor was also a title conferred by the king in the patent of Nahar [Lepsius, l. c., L. 151–157], where it is connected with the MeR, or 'attachés' of the palace. Perhaps the Ptolemaic *πρῶτοι φίλοι*, as *sab ua en mer*, [Egyptian Room, Brit. Mus. object No. 9715], or  *sab ua en merut*, 'one knowing [what the king] wished.' Leemans, Mon. CXXIV. 537. The phrase *sab naa en neb ta*, "great counsellor of the lord of the Earth," or king, is mentioned, Lepsius, Denkm. II. l. 123. There is also a phrase *nuk sab akar api ta*, "I was the *wise* counsellor on Earth," Lepsius, Denkm. III. 13 c. There was also a counsellor of the great house or palace, Lepsius, Denkm. II. Bl. 9, and a *sabu en tef*, Ibid. 34. Cf. also Lepsius, Denkm. II. 111 k.

[28] is a title presenting great difficulties, perhaps seal-bearer, although distinct from *Mer khatem*. Lepsius, Denk. II. 114 e, 149. Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. Pl. 54, l. 14. In one case is a  or  Lepsius, Denkm. II. 148, but in other instances the complement seems to be equal to in Lepsius, Ausw. IX. *mer . . bu kfu*, having charge of the captured spoil [?] There is also a divine . . . Lepsius, Denk. II. 1449, of the Barge or Boat. Ibid. 97 d. And the same title is applied to building, Ibid. 37 b. There are also the . . . of the great house, and all the sealers? of the silver house, Ibid. 149. It occurs as a female title after daughter and before nurse, Ibid. 126. The most remarkable instance is the passage in Lepsius, Denk. II. Bl. 22 a, where  appears in antithesis, or equal to *her er tu*, meals; see also Ibid. 132.

region designated by the gazelle, or goat,[29] and according to all appearance some city or district in the immediate vicinity of Benihassan, or the Speos Artemidos. It is stated in the inscription of Nahar, son of Numhept, that this officer was appointed by Osortesen II. nomarch and governor of the Eastern lands of the place of Horus (Apollinopolis) and Pasht (the Speos Artemidos). It also speaks of the divisions which the monarch made. "When his majesty came," it says, "he removed all defects, he rose like Tum himself, he found out the injuries, he divided the district in two, he made known the limits of the city," &c. Speaking then of his father, Numhept, who was appointed to be nomarch and chief governor of the district by Amenemha I., the same inscription states that he set up tablets to mark its limits, apparently a kind of landmarks, to the South to the City of the Hare, [*Un*] or Mareotes, to the North as far as the City of the Jackal, [*Sab*] or Lycopolis.[30] As this officer had also charge of the same district of the gazelle, by some called *Sah*, it is probable that it lay between the two extremes of the city of the hare and of the jackal. This animal was worshipped and embalmed in the Thebaid, and its head decorated the barge of

[29] abode or land of the goat. *Sahu*. M. De Rougé, Mémoire, l. c. Lepsius, Denk. II. 124, 142 d, 143 e. This officer was —which is equivalent of  *her ga* ϩⲓϫⲱ 'over,' superior of this district. Cf. Ibid. 113 g.

[30] It is mentioned in the tomb of Nahar at Benihassan as part of the district of that officer. The city of the Jackal is probably Lycopolis.

Ptah Socharis Osiris, the Patai-kos, and eponymous deity of Memphis, to whom it may therefore have been sacred. Hence in some of the cities of Lower Egypt its worship may have been established. Ameni also appears to have held another appointment as governor of Upper Syene,[31] besides uniting in his person the anomalous character of captain of infantry and superintendent of priests. Moreover, he was one of those high functionaries called Kings' acquaintances.[32] Still more curious are his other titles: he was the person encharged with all the things given by heaven[33] or made by earth; apparently a kind of comptroller of the household; had charge of the purveyors of the sacred food, of

[31] This group appears equivalent to in Lepsius, Denk. II. Bl. 15 a and 16, *ha gam sab ua karheb*, chief, warrior, counsellor, officer. In many other instances it appears with the symbol of land (Ibid. II. 87, 89, 97 b), as if it referred to Ameni being governor of Karheb or Einleithyias, Ibid. 142 d. g. The group presents great difficulties, being in some inscriptions connected with *ha* or 'chief;' as Lepsius, Denk. II. 42, 48, 87, 91 a, 97 b, 121, 142, d. g. In others it seems as if a phonetic group . . *m*, determined by the 'guardian,' or else as a local officer . . . of the country, guardian of the country. Lepsius, Ibid. 48. In one case it appears determined by the old man, *sm*, holding a stick. Ibid. II. 108. The first character in Lepsius, Ibid., is indistinguishable from that of 'servant.' Ibid. 101, 106 e, 147.

[32] *suten rekh*, supposed to be 'kings' acquaintance;' the *συγγενὴς τοῦ βασιλέως* has sometimes the cubit of Truth after it, or a mallet, or a vase, as *rekh suten skher f*, the royal architect (?) who is skilful (?).

[33] Champollion, Mon. CCXIX. *Mer khet neb ma pe.* The same title occurs on the tablet, Lepsius, Denk. II. 149 e.

flesh, fowl, and bread,[34] and of the chest,[35] the throne,[36] the wardrobe,[37] and the pleasure-grounds

[34] *Mer* tep *neter aha apt hept.* The meaning of the word TeP or AP, is difficult to explain. Bunsen, Egypt's Place, 557, n. 13; Lepsius, Einleit. s. 90, n. 1. A common phrase is *men ki (t) tep her ek*, no one is to be compared to thee. Tablet, Brit. Mus. 142; Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. 97, l. 13. It is often connected with road, as *tep maten*, guide, Lepsius, Todt. I. l. 13; and the *tep suten*, or king's guides, constantly recur in the inscriptions, or with food as the preparers, purveyors, or suttlers of the supplies of the temples, and even of water. Lepsius, Denk. II. Bl. 111, 115.

[35] The phrase is *Nasr kar suten em srat*, over the chest of the carving, Lepsius, Denk. III. 53. The final hieroglyph is only seen here.

[36] apparently *kherp nem* [*her ma*], chief of the [table or block of Truth]. The first hieroglyph, the sceptre, has a double value as *kherp*, or *pekhem*, or perhaps even determinative of *sm*. The kherp of the palace will be found, Lepsius, Ausw. Taf. VI.; Sharpe, Eg. Inscrip. Pl. 19. For the value of *skhem* or *spekhem*, see Lepsius, Denk. II. 136 b. "The enemy are *prevailed over*, the destitute [of force *aat*] are conquered." The second and third characters, generally the phonetics *ka* or *kar*, seats, appear as determinative of the sound *Nem* or *sn*, granary: Lepsius, Denk. II. 75. On a tablet, Brit. Mus. 334, *menkh hat f men n gam-f*, "his heart has been formed without weakness [?]. In the Ritual Salt., Brit. Mus. 828, loco Lepsius, Todt. XXI. 50, XV. 28, 1, 'the block' for the decapitation of the wicked is called *Nem*. Hence these two seats perhaps are 'the block,' as over 'the block' of the place of life [or penal tribunal]. Lepsius, Denk. II. 79, 81, 92. Cf. also 97, 135 a, 112. The object itself is a mace, as he smites with his mace *kherp*. σPHIII. Lepsius, Todt. LIV. 131 b.

[37] *sm khrp shnti nb . ur . at.* Two, if not three, titles are involved in this group—Ministers having charge of the tunics or wardrobe, and of the bath or anointing [?]. It is often repeated at this period especially with *kar*

of the king.[38] His sacerdotal functions consisted of his precited charge of the sacred food used for the service of the gods, his attachment to the body of priests, and his being one of the priests in Sais, or Lower Egypt, the Place of the Lower Crown.[39] He

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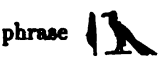
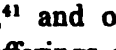
heb between. Lepsius, Denk. II. 89, 135 a b c, 129; Sharpe, Eg. Inse. Pl. 58, 14. The hand pouring forth drops is the determinative of the word *Aa*, 'to wash' or 'water.' The figures of Ptah Socharis Osiris are generally inscribed with a formula addressed to that deity, in which occurs the phrase  *aa em sep neb*, bathed or dipped in every land. British Museum, fig. 9738, or Aâ, the drop or tear of the east or right eye. Fig. Brit. Mus. 9751, and the phrase is *shaa em a*, 'rising from the drop,' or, 'tear of the eastern, or 'right eye.' Fig. Brit. Mus. 9739.

[38] *Sesh*, 'nest,' is also used in the sense of marsh, in the description of fowling scenes. Lepsius, Denk. II. Bl. 105; Cailliaud, Voy. à Méroé, Pl. LXI. An officer, in Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 505, is called 'royal attendant in the marshes,' where the king fowled. On the coffin of Soter, Brit. Mus. Eg. Room, 6705, it is employed for *meh*, 'North wind.'

[39] *Hent neferi em . . . r.* Lepsius, Denkm. l. c. reads instead of *Neferi*. The place of the Lower Crown or Lower Egypt is perhaps the abode of *Nit* (Neith), or Sais, in which he was priest; but these titles are exceedingly difficult to make out. Nor is the phrase less so, being often intermixed with titles. Cf. Lepsius, Denkm. II. 42 c e, 44, 46. It may be for the well-known *spr*, 'side,' or 'approach.' This word is generally in connection with scribe, Lepsius, Ibid. 42 c, and once appears to designate a class of labourers or workmen. The hieroglyph is often the determinative of *Hua*, 'corn,' Lepsius, Denkm. II. 25, 28, 35, 42, 58, and always mentioned in the lists of food after *Ta en nebs*, 'conserve of dates.'

also held some of the inferior offices of the priesthood, as that called *Karhebi*,[40] probably a general epithet, like that of 'minister,' and had some connection with the festival of fishing,[41] and other employments, as having charge of the offerings of food for the altars.[42] Besides these titles, Amenemha enjoyed certain flattering expressions, which it is at this period of time difficult to separate from official station, such as—[43] 'he who is in the heart of the ruler himself, prevailing[44] and im-

[40] Cf. Notes 29 and 31: *kar heb-her ga*, probably two titles, but generally united. The full form of the first word is  —Tablet, Brit. Mus. No. 223. In Rosellini, M. d. c. LXIII., one of these officers holds a palette; and in Lepsius, Denkm. II. Bl. 128, three of them follow a sacerdotal functionary carrying the haunches of animals. This seems to show that they were 'functionaries.'

[41] *ua heb hem.* This refers to some office in the festival of fishing, or fowling and fishing. See Lepsius, Denk. II. 130, "beloved of the lady mistress of the festival of fishing, and chief of the fishing, of the sporting in the marshes and fishing." See Ibid. II. 42, the title of fisherman.

[42] *ut satp em* . . . . . is one title, Prisse, Pl. IX. At this period the formula *kherp em sa* or *shes a* is not uncommon. What this difficult title means I do not know: the other title is equally difficult. It occurs on the tablet, Lepsius, Denkm. II. 149 e; Ibid. II. 125, 150 a, 165. Perhaps the last hieroglyph is for altar. Cf. Lepsius, Ibid. II. 44 b, III. 26; and the whole refers to its food or supply. Ibid. 186, III. 26.

[43] *Am ha t aga gesf.* For the meaning of Aga, like the Turkish Agha, see M. De Rougé, Mémoire, l. c. p. 184.

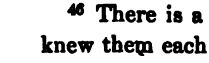
[44] The phrase is *sahu naa* . . . *hru en ma seut*, a great . . . . the day of giving terror. Cf. M. De Rougé Mém. p. 92. There is an equation here of equal to

pressing the terror of the king over the Phut or bow-bearing foreigners of the East and South of Egypt, striking fear[45] into the hearts of men in all the places he either went to or returned from,[46] without any evil in his body, and declaring what is true.' Much, however, of this part of the inscription is exceedingly obscure, such expressions occurring as 'adoring Horus, who dwells in heaven in all gates of the gap, giving words to obliterate (excuse) faults.'

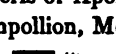
Amenemha-Ameni is stated to be blessed by, or devoted to, the deities Num or Ammon Anubis, and Har, or Horus: to the first in the god's character as the lord of Her-ur,[47] and lord of Ta-ba,[48] two cities, the sites of which are as yet undetermined. The other deity is styled the smiter of the . . . . . and the one indwelling in Hebennu, which is the ancient name of the modern Sauiet El Meitun.[49] Besides his immediate devotion to these local deities, he also addresses, or has addressed on his behalf, invocations[50]

[45] The seated cow reads Hes, as in the name of Isis. Lepsius, Ausw. Taf. VI. De Rougé, p. 30.

[46] There is a phrase here apparently alluding to 'the priest who knew them each time he comes, should it be a hundred' [?].

[47]  Herur, perhaps a form of writing the name of Harocris or Apollinopolis. The same title of Num occurs at Bakke. Champollion, Mon. II. Pl. CLVII.

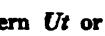
[48] A region whose name has not been deciphered, probably in the Heptanomis.

[49]  HeBeNU. Lepsius, Denk. II. 111 g.

[50] UT or TU, I believe to be the name of a region written with city after it. Lepsius, Ib. II. 89. Anup is called lord of TUA [This?], Lepsius, Denk. II. 112 d, and often of SePA, or Σιουφ,

to the sepulchral gods. The first of these is the usual act of adoration to Anubis, who is attached to *Ut*, or *Tu*, lord of the *Ta-ser*,[51] or place before the

Herodot. II. 172; Prisse, Mon. Pl. XV. In the 142nd chapter of the Ritual, Lepsius, Todt. LIX. c. 142 l. 89, Osiris is called the Northern and Southern *Ut* or *Tu*. The same word occurs, Ibid. LXXVI. 161 c. 1,—he has made the passage though his . . . . [ut].

[51] *Taser;* the other form of  will be seen, Lepsius, Denk. II. 112 d. The same word means dish, Ibid. II. 44 b, and liquid. It is mentioned as a part of Abydos. Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. 18, l. 4, 5. 'I have had my heart given to me; I have taken a place which is for ever, at the staircase of the precincts of Abydos, in all directions.' This taser of Abydos occurs again, Sharpe, E. I. 109, 11, 13. 'This house is made at the stairs of the great god, the living lord, who dwells [?] in Abydos, who gives abundance of food and drink in the precincts [taser];' the deceased are allowed to live there. Sharpe, E. I. 75 l. 23, or goes in and out of it. Tablet, Brit. Mus. ES. 808. On the sepulchral figure of Prince *Shaemuabu*, the formula says, "descend the valley to the upper fields, pass the secret gate, sit in thy place in the precincts [taser] like the great follower of the sun." Prisse, Mon. Pl. XV. Either in the Louvre or Bibliothèque I found on a monument the hall *uskh* of the Taser, and in Select. Papyri, XLV. l. 8, is mentioned the hill of the Taser. Several passages in the Ritual illustrate the position of the Taser, as—

"The Rusta [plains before the Horizon]; the southern gate is Anrut [region of annihilation]; the Northern, the abode of Osiris. The bottom of the Pool of Truth is Abydos, or the path on which Tum [the Sun in the lower region] walks when he proceeds to the fields of Aahru [Elysium], approaching the region of the Horizon departing from the gate of the Taser." Lepsius, Todt. VII. c. 17, n. 19, 20. "The Aahru [Elysium] are the fields which produce the food [ambrosia] of the gods. At the shrine is the Gate of the Taser. Mau passes through the Southern gate. The Northern gate, or door, Tum passes through when he proceeds to the Eastern horizon." This places the Taser in the lower world or Hades; it was also between the East and West; as "I go in peace to the west, the lords of the Taser receive me; they say to me, Hail in peace!

Hills of the Horizons, who have given him a good embalmment in the Hills of the West, and a chamber in the Hades: the second, an address to Osiris as lord of Tattu, is, that he shall give the deceased the usual meals of food, and clothes, and the supposed Kuphi.[52] These two formulæ, preceded by their usual title, were expected to be reverentially repeated by all who approached the sepulchre.

On the outer door of the sepulchre of this functionary he is indifferently named Amenemha, or Ameni; and this assumption of double names, which commences at this period, was continued till the last days of Egypt in the Roman period. These names, the second of which was his alias rather than his surname, are often the clue to the periods of undated monuments, and to the position of kings whose order in the chronology has not been fixed; and in the present instance the palace of the king Ameni, mentioned on a tablet dated in the reign of one of the later

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They make me a place where is the chief of the gods." Ibid. II. 20, 21. It was not, however, desirable that the soul should remain there, for one chapter is that of saving the soul from the Taser. Ibid. XXVII. c. 71. In it was the *mes khen*, or 'birth-place,' probably that of the metempsychosis of the soul, Ibid. LXV. 34; it is mentioned also in connection with the place of living or life. Ibid. L. 127, 7. Another form of this word appears in connection with the horizon, Ibid. LV. 136, 9, LX. 144, 15; and the queen Hat-asu is said to be the dweller in the *taser* of the great temple of Amen-Ra, Roselini, M. R. No. XXXI. It is frequently termed the sacred or hidden place, Ibid. XXIX. 78, 23, 27. The gods stand at my words; the two lions of the sun lift their arms in the Taser, Coffin of Soter, Brit. Mus. Eg. Room, 6705, in connection with the *sba* or gateway.

[52] The *Gef* or *Kuphi* is said to be taken [?], Lepsius, Todt. II. 1. 19, but to be eaten (*am*), Lepsius, Denk. III. 97.

monarchs of this line, considered with the fact of the name of this officer, shows that Ameni only immediately preceded the twelfth dynasty, and was probably one of the monarchs of the eleventh line.

The inscription on the Northern wall gives several more curious details.

"I adored," it states, "my princess. I went away to bring[53] the supplies[54] to the fortress of Kaba [Coptos], with the nomarch, governor of the desert,[55] Osortesen the living. I went with a number of 600 in my service,[56] all men of Sah [city of the gazelle]. I came leading my troops in peace; let all in-

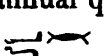
[53] Perhaps *sib*, 'to bring,' 'go,' or 'pass,' but often confused with *masi*, to bring or give. Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 66, 80, 88, 90, as *mas han*, bringing tribute, *mas heka*, bringing captives. In the Ritual, Lepsius, Todt. XVII. 36, 2, "I am Num, bringer of the words of the gods to the Sun;" in another place, in the Mystical Hall, Ibid. XLIX. 125, 64, *Sib pu Hesar*, its passer through is Osiris. The chapter, Ibid. LXXV. 154, is that of not letting the body pass away (*sib*). Cf. lines 1, 2, 3, 5, 9; the phrase passing from (the divine) keel, *sib em tep*, occurs XXXVIII. 106, 3.

[54] For the phrase *Ba*, food, vid. supra, note 18, coffin 33, Brit. Mus. *ar . t nak hept neter em ba Ra ra neb em ut en Tum*—divine food has been made to thee of the viands by order of Tum.

[55] This group perhaps reads TeN, as on the statue of Amenophis III. Sharpe, Eg. Ins. Pl. 24. I. A. 3, crowned on the throne [ten]. Lepsius, Todt. LXII. f. 73, "Thoth washes in it [the pure water] when he makes the throne of Horus." It often occurs after land as if an adjective, perhaps 'desert.' At Hamamat, Lepsius, Denkm. II. 149 c, e, an officer is said to have charge of all the things of that desert [?] country.

[56] *Ka*, probably means military service or valour. Cf. M. De Rougé, Mémoire, pp. 99, 100.

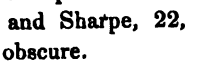
quire[57] what I have done and said. I am an excellent[58] lord, much beloved, the ruler who was loved in his city. I passed the end of my years as ruling in (*hek*) the [abode of the gazelle] *Sah*, all the work[59] of the king's house was done by me, on which account I was made and set over the water-men of the wells [?],[60] of the cattle-keepers of Sah[?], and of 3000 bulls with their cows:[61] I ordered thence to the king's house the annual quota of milk;[62] I carried their (the work-

[57]  *at* or *ôt*. This is the same as the group, M. Bunsen, Egypt's Place, I. p. 558 n. 17. A similar form to this occurs, Tablet, Brit. Mus. 573. There are two passages illustrative of this word in the Ritual, Lepsius, Todt. III. 10, l. 2, XXI. 48, l.—I come forth with justification against my accusers, I have visited [?] the heaven, I have passed through the earth. And again, Ibid. XXII. 57, 1. "Oh Nile, greatest of the heaven, under thy name of visiter of the heaven." Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. 79, l. 4.

[58] *am*, perhaps ΕΙΜΕ, 'intelligent;' cf. the declaration of Nahar, son of Numhept. "I was blest by the king, praised by his courtiers, more intelligent than the wisest of his prefects." Lepsius, Denk. II. 124, l. 116–119, and 124, "never did [bowed] servants so before to their master." Cf. also Sharpe, Eg. Insc. 82, l. 7.

[59] *Bek* is used for work in general, even for the labours of the field. Lepsius, Denk. III. Bl. 10.

[60] The *Mer* or *Nasr she*, 'superintendents of tanks' or 'wells,' are often mentioned, which shows that this might be the water-places or stables. Perhaps the forms, Lepsius, Denk. II. 129, and Sharpe, 22, are varieties of this, and its meaning is then obscure.

[61]  *Nuhbu*, probably another form of *Aabuhs*, calves. Cf. Lepsius, Denk. II. Bl. 102 a, and II. 96.

[62] The phrase here is *ent aru*, "of a milch cow;" the whole ap-

men's) work to the royal palace. Nothing was kept[63] by me from his altars. I worked the land of Sah [abode of the gazelle] throughout with labourers.[64] I did not oppress a child;[65] I did not[66] ill-treat any widow;[67] I did not stop any fisherman[68] from him;

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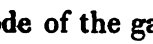
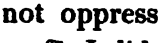
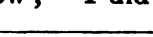
parently meaning, I ordered thence to the palace to the annual quantity of a milch cow. Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. 80, l. 6.



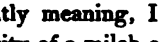
63 The general sense is evidently, nothing was kept by me from his altars. Here it is possible that *HR* is the Coptic ϩⲟⲩⲣⲱ, to drive away cattle, and steal the corn. See note 75. In these early inscriptions the arm with or without a club is the determinative of the verb. Or it may be *her ra . t*, "there was not any made to me from his altar," which gives the same general idea that he did not defraud the king.



64 *rat uah*, probably abundant labourers ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓ. The term *uah*, although explained as to augment or add, is difficult to limit to this sense, as *men pen uah*, 'this additional [?] monument' or 'gift,' *uah api ta*, 'to stand' or be on earth. See it also over the 'ploughman' or his 'assistant,' Lepsius, Denk. II. 107.

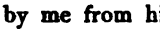


65 *s'heb . t*, probably the Coptic, with the preformant ⲥϩⲏⲃⲉ, to afflict. Observe here that the construction for the sake of emphasis is inverted, the objective case being placed first, 'Not a little child (*sf ngs*) did I ill-treat.'



66 *Taauru* or *Tar*, to ill-treat. Lepsius, Denk. II. 123 d, satisfying the king by afflicting the . . . . [*khen*]. Ibid. II. 123 d. I have not injured divine cattle. Lepsius, Todt. XLVI. 125, 4.

67 *Shara* or *Khara*, a widow. This word resembles the Greek χῆρα. Cf. the same phrase repeated, l. 7. *Kha ta neb en hai*, "like the lady of a husband," *i. e.* like a married woman.



68 *ahu-ti*, probably fishermen with line, anglers, ⲟⲩⲱϩⲓ —See Rosellini, M. Civ. No. XXIV. tom. i. p. 223.

I did not turn away from him (the king) any herdsman; I did not take any[69] head of a gang of five men out of his service. *There was no fasting*[70] *in my days, no famine in my time.* [*When*] *there were years of famine, I ploughed all the fields of the land of Sah* [city of the gazelle] *to its Southern and Northern frontiers, giving life to those in it, and supplying them with food.*[71] There was no famine there. I made the widow to be like the married woman. I did not distinguish[72] between young and old in all that I did. When the Nile made its great waters, all [its] pro-

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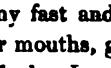
[69] *Ti*, to take. This phrase, "chief of the five," is not an uncommon expression. There was one in the temple of Tet [Thoth]. Lepsius, Denk. II. 135 d.

[70] *Mar*, perhaps *mer*, to bind or girdle: hence to imprison or chain, with the preformant *s*, or grieve. Statue, Brit. Mus. 512 a, (*men*) *smar* (*nemh*). I do not torment the feeble. The word as here occurs, Lepsius, Todt. LI. 126, 2, "guiding [the four apes], my fast and my feast [?], welcoming the gods with the flame of their mouths, giving the food of the gods, the meals of the Spirits." Cf. also Lepsius, Todt. XXIX. 7, 8, l. 27. "They thrust their arms to me, I stopped their binding." Cf. also Ibid. LXII. 145 d, 14, and LXV. 146 d. "Binding those dead in sin, is the name of its guardian." Literally there was no 'girdling' in my homes or 'time'. *ku*.

[71]  *SHaBU*. Tablet, Brit. Mus. 51 & 148, has this word with the determinative of viands. For varieties of this form, see Lepsius, Denk. II. 129, *sankh kar f ar shabu*.

[72] The word here is *sten*, which has been often explained as produce, but probably also to reckon, as I did not reckon the young as the old, *i. e.* he did not defraud the revenue. This is followed by a hieroglyph, which, if correct, is unusual.

ductions[73] . . . . . all things.[74] I did not bore[75] holes in its canals [?]."[76]

The greater part of this inscription essentially resembles a kind of confession made in the ritual just before entering the Hall of the two Truths, except that here the deceased informs us of his occupations. His military services had been again employed at the head of 600 men, apparently to convey stores to the fortress of Coptos, at that time, and especially during the sixth dynasty before it, of great political importance to Egypt. He had performed no further exploit, the

[73] *Kheper neb*, all productions. There is an often-repeated phrase in the sepulchral formulæ, to give all things, "the gifts of the heaven, productions of earth, tribute [*han*] of the Nile." Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. Pl. 2, hor. l. 2, 3, for which word, *han*, "tribute," that of kheper, 'productions,' is sometimes inserted. Sharpe, Pl. 39, l. 10.

[74] This group, although mutilated, is, perhaps, for *ateb* or *tab*. Cf. Sharpe, II. Ser. Pl. 3, 'having,' or, 'under' the thigh in the horizon at the . . . of heaven.

[75] *HR*, perhaps compounded of *her a*. M. Chabas of Chalons has suggested that this group has the meaning of 'forthwith' on the tablet of Rameses XIV. (R. Soc. Lit. Trans. vol. iv. p. 217), l. 12, 18, 19; but here it appears after the verb *shet*, to make or pierce with *en* of *aha*, the fields, after it. Cf. Lepsius, Denk. III. 105 f, a time for thee. Tablet, Brit. Mus. 141, has *u k her a nas he her rash ek*. Thou comest forward (*her . a*) when asked by thy name. Cf. also the negative confession. 'I have not divided [an *arm* out] of the water in its course.' Lepsius, Todt. XLVI. 125, 10.

[76] *atth*, probably for *ah*, field. Cf. Lepsius, Denk. II. 124, or else *ha t.t*, ϩⲟⲧⲉⲓⲧ canal. "I did not divert the water."

rest of his days having passed in the royal service, in directing the labours of the palaces, probably at Abydos, and having been especially engaged in agricultural pursuits. The duty of supplying the temples or palaces with milk from a stock of 3000 cattle devolved upon him. The offences which he did not commit, of defrauding his royal master, were probably such as others had done.

The most extraordinary and interesting part of the inscription is that in which he alludes to a severe famine in Egypt during the years of which he had preserved his own nome from destitution by cultivation. Such famines, the result of deficient Niles, were of course occasional scourges of the country, and notices of two principal ones have reached the present day through other channels,—the one in the Scriptures subsequent to the arrival of Joseph in Egypt, and that which happened in the reign of Asychis, who, to alleviate the public calamities, allowed the bodies of the dead to be mortgaged. Either or both these periods may be indicated in the present inscription; for some, in the foreigners depicted in the tomb of Nahar, have thought that they recognize the arrival of the family of Joseph in Egypt, and seek to thereby establish a synchronism for Jewish and Egyptian history; and others may see in Asychis or Sasychis one of the monarchs of the twelfth dynasty.

That the cultivation of the land and the collecting of the grain was an object of especial solicitude at this age, is shown by the numerous functionaries entitled officers of the account of the cattle and grain, of whom several sepulchral tablets remain; while the

change of Nile level at Semneh and Kumme, and the repeated observations made by orders of the Egyptian Court, show that a disturbing cause had inflicted some evil on the country, and aroused the solicitude of the highly organized government.

S. Birch.

XIII.—ON THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO SMINTHEUS.

BY CAPTAIN SPRATT, R.N.

COMMUNICATED BY W. MARTIN LEAKE, V.-P., F.R.S.

(Read July 26, 1854.)

In the course of last autumn Captain Spratt, of the Royal Navy, when conducting the Admiralty Survey on the coast of the Troad, discovered the site of the Temple of Apollo Smintheus, which Strabo describes as situated in the Amaxitia, a district forming a triangle at the south-western end of the Troad, of which the base is the course of the river Tuzla (probably the ancient Satnioeis), and the apex Cape Baba, the ancient Lectum. The Amaxitia was the district of Amaxitus, one of the old towns of this part of the Troad, which contributed to people the new city founded by Antigonus about the year 310 B.C., and augmented by Lysimachus, who changed its name from Antigoneia to Alexandreia.

The remains of the temple are situated at a short distance from the sea-shore, twelve geographical miles in direct distance to the south of the ruins of Alexandreia, and four geographical miles to the north-east of Cape Lectum. "They are adjacent," writes Captain Spratt, "to a Turkish village named Kulaglí, standing on a low ridge, which falls gradually to the plain and

river of Tuzla.[1] Several fragments of marble scattered about the village induced me to inquire for the place from which they were brought: there was much reluctance to satisfy me, some directing me to the plain of Tuzla and elsewhere, but the offer of a few piastres at length induced a Turk to point to a small *plateau*, which connects the village ridge with another running parallel to it, and not more than ten minutes' walk below where I stood. Here I came suddenly upon the remains of a large temple, consisting chiefly of columns lying in all directions within two or three small gardens, or on the road side, or in the stone enclosures. Some of the columns in the gardens appeared to be standing *in situ*, but no more than a few feet of them appeared above ground; there were also some massive foundations of the temple near them. Not less than forty fragments or portions of the columns lay upon the site or in the vicinity. They were fluted, of white marble, and apparently Ionic, though not a single portion of any capital was to be found. The diameter of the shaft was four feet immediately above the base. Two springs of excellent water rise on the plateau near the site of the temple, one of which issues from a small cavern. Adjoining the temple are some ruins of a large building of Roman times, with walls formed in part of horizontal

[1] This plain is the Halesium of Strabo (p. 605), a word of the same meaning as the Turkish Tuzla, and so named from some copious hot salt-sources, described by Strabo as τὸ Τραγασαῖον ἁλοπήγιον αὐτόματον, τοῖς Ἐτησίαις πηγνύμενον πρὸς Ἀμαξιτῷ. Tragasæ stood probably at the modern Tuzla: a little below this village are shallow ponds into which the water of the sources is collected, and evaporated by the summer heat and Etesian northerly wind.—See Hunt in Walpole's Memoirs, i. p. 132.

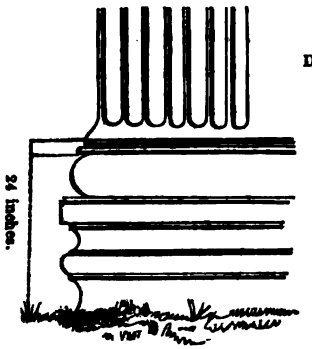
courses of brick. Further on is an isolated buttress, belonging to another large building. These two ruins are nearly twenty feet high. There are some indications also of a church and small town scattered over the plateau, but without any appearance of town walls. The situation is in a hollow between two ridges. Upon the western ridge there is a road to the sea-coast, which it meets three or four miles to the northward of Cape Baba. Upon this road are five or six sarcophagi, lying on their sides or half-buried in the soil: they are formed of a dark volcanic rock, a species of trachyte, similar to that of Assos, among the ruins of which ancient city we find it used for the same purpose. On the shore where the road terminates are several fragments of the temple, which have no doubt been brought thus far for the purpose of embarkation, and to be used in some modern building. On the *toe* of the ridge of Kulaglí, on the edge of the plain of Tuzla, I found a circular pedestal of white marble, sculptured with festoons of flowers between bulls' heads, the whole originally well executed; it was probably brought here from Kulaglí, as there is no other ancient fragment within a mile of it."

In the village of Kulaglí, forming part of the wall of a house, Captain Spratt found a square pedestal, upon which was the following inscription—

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ
ΦΛΑΒΙΟΝ ΙΟΥΛ'ΑΥΡ'
Ε Ρ Μ Η Ν
ΥΙΟΝ ΙΟΥΛ'ΑΥΡ'ΕΡΜΟΥ
ΝΕΙΚΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΠΑΙΔΩΝ
ΠΥΘΙΚΩΝ ΠΑΛΗΝ
ΣΜΙΝΘΕΙΑ ΠΑΥΛΕΙΑ

which proves the identity of the temple, and shows that in the time of the Empire games were here celebrated: to these the Roman remains observed by Captain Spratt were probably subservient; the games were called the Smintheia Pauleia, the latter name having perhaps been derived from some Roman proconsul or governor, who had established them. The names Flavius and Aurelius concur with the forms of the letters in leading to the belief that the inscription dates from the latter part of the second century of our era.

From the annexed delineation by Captain Spratt of



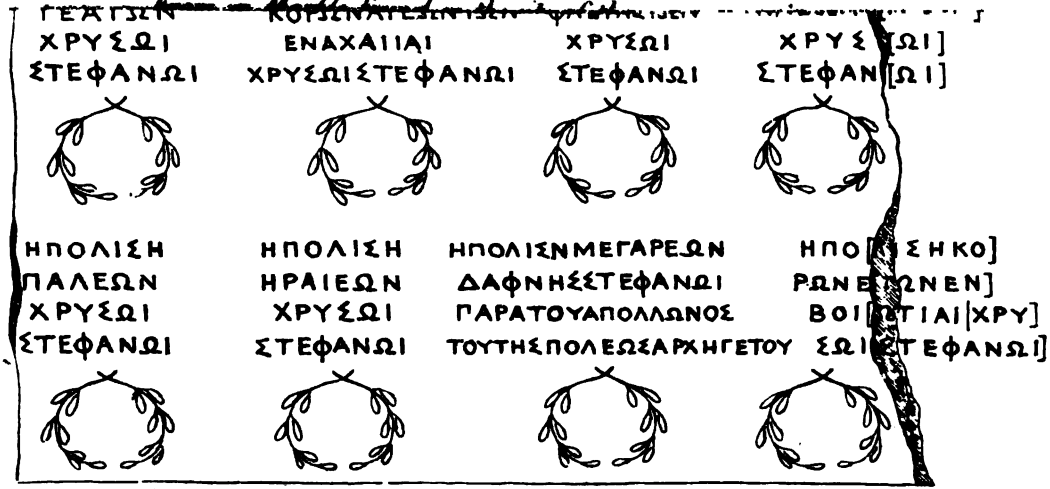
Base of a Column from Kulagli, Smintheau Troadis.

the base of a column of the temple, and from its diameter, we may deduce that the temple was a hexastyle of the Ionic order, as large or larger than the Theseium of Athens. The component parts appear to be in good preservation, and some of the remains of the columns in their original positions; so that an excavation would probably bring to light enough to enable an architect to obtain all the details of a fine specimen of the Ionic order in white marble.

Strabo (p. 604) informs us, that at the foot of the statue of Apollo in this temple there was the figure of a rat, and that both the statue and the rat were works of Scopas of Parus. *Σκόπα δ' ἐστὶν ἔργα τοῦ Παρίου.*

On the extant tetradrachma, however, of Alexandreia, which bear dates from 141 to 235 of an era which commenced at the occupation of Alexandreia by Lysimachus, B.C. 300, no rat is figured, though there can be little or no doubt, from the peculiarity of the image of Apollo on those coins, that it is an imitation of the statue by Scopas. The figure is shown in profile, clothed in long transparent drapery, having a quiver at the shoulder, a patera in the right hand, and a bow and arrow in the left. On some copper coins of Alexandreia of later date, the same figure is seen, with the rat at its feet. It is probable, therefore, that the rat had been added to the statue in the temple at the time of these latter coins, and that Strabo was misinformed in supposing that the rat was the work of Scopas. There is some reason to think that Strabo had not himself seen the Smintheium, for he describes the temple as in Chrysa (*ἐν τῇ Χρύσῃ*), and adds, that Chrysa was situated on a rocky height near the sea, a description which can answer only to the height which rises above Tuzla to the north, and which is separated from the Smintheium by the river Tuzla and the whole breadth of the plain Halesium.

Near the temple, in a garden belonging to a Turk, was found, two or three years ago, a slab of white marble, covered with the accompanying inscription: this slab Captain Spratt purchased from the Turk, and has presented to the University of Cambridge; the marble has been curtailed of a small portion of its



J. Netherclift, Lith.

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dimensions on its left side and below, but in other respects is perfect.

This monument records the honours paid to Cassandrus, son of Menestheus, by nine nations or portions of nations and by twelve cities. The nations were—the Ætolians, the Dorians, the Ænianes, the Epirotes round Phœnice,[1] the Œtæans, the Athamanes, the Eastern Locrians, the Cretans, and the Achæans. The cities were—Delphi, Argos, Messene, Megalopolis, Tegea, Coronæa of Achaia,[2] Phliûs, Cleonæ, Palea of Cephallenia, Heræa of Arcadia, Megara, and Coroneia in Bœotia. The Athamanes and Ænianes erected a brazen statue to Cassander, to which the latter people added a golden crown; the Achæans presented to him the rights of Proxenia and Politeia, the Cretans Proxenia only; Delphi and Megara gave each a crown of bay from the god's own tree at those places; Argos, together with a golden crown, presented to him the Theorodocia[3] of Jupiter Nemeius and Juno

[1] For the situation of Phœnice see my Northern Greece, 1. p. 66.

[2] There can be little doubt that Corone of Messenia (now Petalídhi) is the city here intended. There was no Corone in Achaia Proper, and Κορωναιεύς, as in the present document, is the ethnic of the Messenian Corone in Stephanus. Its port was called ὁ Ἀχαιῶν λίμην (Pausan. 4, 34), whence it would seem that it was founded or occupied by some of the Achaians who were expelled from Laconia by the Heracleidæ; it was, moreover, a member of the Achaian league, to which age the style of this monument, the form of the characters, and the *iota adscriptum*, concur in showing it to belong.

[3] Θεωροί· οἱ εἰς θυσίαν, πεμπόμενοι καὶ εἰς τας ἑορτάς.
Θεωροδόκος· ὁ τῶν θεωρικῶν χρημάτων ἐπιμελούμενος.
Suidas in v. v.

The Theorodocos was some distinguished citizen appointed to receive the theoriæ or sacred missions of other states. The Argives, there-

Argeia; all the other nations and cities a golden crown only: under all the records of this gift a crown is delineated; of these there are eighteen in all.

One of the most remarkable features in this curious monument is, that, contrary to the general Greek custom, the name of the recipient of so many honours is not accompanied by his ethnic: the most probable inference is, that he was one of the leading men of Alexandreia itself, who placed this record of his honours in the Smintheium as the most celebrated and revered temple in the dependency of Alexandreia.

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fore, in conferring this honour upon Cassander, placed him upon an equality with their own men of the highest rank and estimation, which was something more than a simple πολιτεία. The Theorodocos was usually subject to considerable expense, and it was chiefly perhaps by means of his wealth and expenditure that Cassander obtained so many honours.

XIV.—GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM SYRIA AND THE HAURAN,

DISCOVERED BY THE REV. J. L. PORTER, M.A.

COMMUNICATED AND EDITED WITH NOTES BY JOHN HOGG, M.A., F.R.S., FOR. SEC. R.S.L., &c.

(Read November 22nd, 1854.)

The Rev. *J. L. Porter*, now resident in Damascus, having kindly transmitted to me a copy of the Greek Inscriptions, which he considered as inedited, in a letter received from Syria last July, I beg to communicate them to the Royal Society of Literature.

Upon examination, I find, that of the thirteen inscriptions sent, only one (from Syria) has yet been published: the remaining twelve, which were also discovered by Mr. *Porter* in his recent journey into the Haurân,[1] the ancient *Auranitis* (AYPANITIΣ of the Septuagint, *Ezekiel* xlvii. 16, and Josephus)—a portion of the still more ancient and scriptural kingdom of *Bashan* (BAΣAN)—are, I believe, unknown to the Historian and to the Student of Sacred Topography.

[1] The name *Hauran* appears twice in our English Bible, in v. 16 and v. 18 of the same chapter (xlvii.) of *Ezekiel*. It is to be observed that Αὐρανῖτις is the Greek word in v. 16 in both the MS. of the LXX. and in the Alexandrine version; but in v. 18, in the former, the word is Λωρανῖτις, and in the latter, Ὡρανῖτις.

I. I will present the Inscriptions in the old Greek type, as they were transcribed in Mr. Porter's letter, with his statements of the ruins and places where he discovered them; and

II. I will add copies of them with restorations in the common and smaller type, together with my own notes and attempted interpretations.

I.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM MR. PORTER'S LETTER.

The first is from a fine temple in the village of *Maksûra*, on the borders of the Desert, seven hours east of Damascus. Near it are the ruins of a large town with a very strong citadel.

1. ΥΠΕΡCΩΤΗΡΙΑCΤΩΝΚΥΡΙΩΝ
ΗΜΩΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΩΝΚΑΙC
ΑΡΩΝΜΑΡΚΩΝΙΟΥΛΙΩΝ
|||| purposely erased || CΤΩ ||||||| ΑΦΙΕΡΩ
ΘΗΚΑΙCΥΝΕΤΕΛΕCΘΗΝΑΟCΑΕΙΧΑ
ΛΑCΕΠΙΤΩΝΠΕΡΙΜΑΡΚΟΝΑΥΡΗΛΙ
ΟΝΑΝΕΟΝΓΑΩΡΟΥΚΑΙΓΑ |||| ΡΟΝΟΙΛ(?)CΙΜ(?)
ΘΟΥΒΟΥ |||| ΛΕΥΤΟΥΕΙΡΟΤΑ ΙΩΝ

The following is below it:

ΕΚΤΩΝΤΟΥ
ΟΕΟΥΕ$\overline{\text{Τ}}$ΟΥC
$\overline{\text{ΖΝ}}$ΦΥΠΕΡΒΕΡΕ
ΤΑΙΟΥ · $\overline{\text{ΙΕ}}$

The next two are from the village of Hiyât (or *el Hait* of Burckhardt, 'Syria and the Holy Land,' p. 77, *Ed.*), in the northern part of the Gebel Haurân, now called *Ard el-Bathanyeh*, (Batanæa or Bashan.) The buildings there are all ancient.

2. ΑΒΕΒΟCΑΥ
ΜΟΥΚΑΙΑΕ
ΔΟCΚΑΙΑΥΜΟC
ΥΙΟΙCΑΒΑΟΥ
ΘΙΟΥΤΟ ||||||||||| (ΜΝΗΜΕΙ?)
ΟΝΠΟΙΗCΑΝ

3. ΠΡΟΚΛΟCΑΥΜΟΥ
ΤΩΘΕΩΤΟΝΓΑ
ΝΥΜΗΑΗΝΕΞΙΔΙ
ΩΝΥΠΕΡΑΥΜΟΥ
ΥΙΟΥΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

The following are from the town of Hît (*Heitt* of Burckhardt, *Ed.*), half an hour from the former. Burckhardt has copied many others from the same place.

4. ΔΙΙΜΕΓΙCΤΩΑΡΑ
ΒΙΝ |||| ΟCΛΙΟΜΗΔΟΥC
ΚΑΤΥΧΗΝΑ ΗΓΕΙΡΕΝ

From a fountain.

5. ΑΙΛΙΟΕΜΑΖΙΜΟCΕΠΑΡΧΟC
ΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΕΚΤΙCΕΝΔΙΑΗΡΩΔΟΥ
ΗΡΩΔΟΥΙΔΙΟΥΚΑΙΔΙΑ
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥΜΑΛΧΟΥΚΑΙ
ΑΔΔΟΥΑΚΡΑΒΑΝΟΥ
ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΩΝ

6.

	ΟΛΒΙΕΑΝΔΡΩ	Ν
	ΦΙΛΙΠΠΕΔΟΥΚ	ΙΝ Α
	ΡΙΕΤΑΞΕΩCΔΟΥ	
ΚΟC	ΟCΜΝΗΜΑCΥΝ	ΗΥΛΙ
ΕΚΘ	ΕΜΕΝΩΝΕΓΙΡ	ΑC
ΑΜ	ΦΕΡΑΨΑCΟCΥΝ	ΗΔΥ
ΠΑ	ΡΑΚΟΙΤΙΚΑΙΤΕ	Ν Ν
Ν	ΟΙCΙΕΙCΚΛΕΟCΑ	ΕΙ
	ΚΑΙCΑΛΑΜΑΝΜC	

These two are from the ruined town of *Bathanyeh*, formerly the capital of the province of *Batanæa*. The place itself was never before visited. The first is a fragment.

7. . . . . ΑΥCΟCΙΑΥΤΟΥΘΕΟ
. . ΡΟCΠΑCΙΘΕΙVΟVΟΝΕ
. . ΝΟCΑΒΙΒΟVΑΝΑ
. . ΜΟCΓΑVΤΟΥΖΟΒΕ
. . ΔΟCΝΑΤΑΜΕΛΟΥΠΙ
. . CΤΥΙΑ(?)ΝΕΓΕΙΡΑΝ
. . ΤΟΤVΧΙΟΝΕΚ
. . ΤΟΤΗ

8. ΚΕΠΡΙCΚΟCΕΦ CΤΑΤΟ
ΥΚΕΗ◁ΕΔΡ

ΑΓΑΘΗΤVΧΗ	ΝΟΥ
ΑVΞΙΛΕΒΕΑΠω	ΚΩΜΕ
ΛΛΑΔΑΠΑΝΗΚΑΛ	CΝΑ
ΗΤΩΝΠΙCΤΩΝΗΑΛ	ΧΟ
ΧΟCΚΕΟCΗΒΕΟΥΚΕ	V

ΑΕΙΤΟCΚCΝΕCΤΩΡΙC

The next long Inscription I copied from the ruins of a small but beautiful temple beside the town of *Suleim* (called *Saleim* by Burckhardt, p. 79, *Ed.*) in the Haurân, near *Kunaivât* (the ruined city of *Kanouat*, Burckhardt, p. 83; the *Kenath* of Numb. xxxii. 42, and *Καὰθ* and *Καναὰθ* of the Greek Bible, *Ed.*). It appears to be important as tending to identify the site of the ancient Episcopal city of *Neapolis*, which is mentioned in the 'Notitiæ Ecclesiasticæ' in connection with Dyonisias, Canata, Philippopolis, &c.

under the metropolis *Bostra* (the scriptural *Bozrah*, *Βοσόρ* of the LXX., and now named *Busrah*, *Ed.*).

9. ΜΝΗΜΑΜΕΟΡΑΙΣΠΕΡΙΚΑΛΛΕΣΑΟΙΔΙΜΟΝΑΙ
ΕΝΟΔΙΤΑΙΣΕΟΙΔΕΜΟΥΚΟΥΠΕΡΒΕΠΕΛΕΙΑΩΝ
ΔΟΗΟΣΕΠΥΣΡΟΥΦΙΝΟΣΔΕΗΕΤΕΥΞΕΒΕ
ΟΥΔΙΟΤΗΤΙΤΕΤΑΓΜΑΙΓΗΡΑΛΕΟΥΣΔΕΞΑΙ
ΒΑΙΑΤΑΝΕΟΝΟΥΠΟΤΕΠΑΝΠΑΝΕΙΜΙΔ
ΑΑ(?)ΥΠΟΤΑΤΟΣΚΑ(?)ΙΝΤΗΡΠΑΝΤΕΣΙΝΕΤΟΙΗΟΣ
ΥΙΑΣΙΘΥΙΩΝΟΙΣΤΕΠΟΛΥΠΡΩΤΙΓΗΡΑΣΙΟΥ
ΕΝΕΑΔΟΣΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΣΕΝΕΥΤΥΧ

This is from *Suweidah* (*Soueida* of Burckhardt, p. 81, *Ed.*), one of the most extensive ruined cities in the Haurân.

10. ΕΥΤΥΧΗ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ
ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΥΗΠΙΔΟ
ΜΙΤΤΙΟΥΔΕΞΤΡΟΥΥ
ΠΑΤΙΚΟΥΗΤΟΛΙΠΟΥΣ
ΑΠΟΤΩΝΓΗΠΩΝΑΠΩ
ΓΟΥΣΑΡΕΩΝΚΑΙΝΑ
ΘΩΝΑ(?)ΦΕΤΑΘΩΝΟΡ
ΣΟΥΩΝΕΠΕΣΚΙΥΑ
ΣΕΝΚΑΙΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑ
ΣΕΝΚΑΙΤΟΝΝΑΟΝ
ΤΗΑΘΗΝΑΕΝΑΡ
ΡΟΙΣΣΥΝΤΟΙΣΑΓΑΛ
ΜΑΣΙΝΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕ
ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΣΗΣΦΥ
ΛΗΣΣΟΜΑΙΘΗ
ΝΩΝ

The following I copied from the side of the entrance

gateway to the castle at *Salkhad* (called *Szalkhat* by Burckhardt, p. 99, *Ed.*), the *Salchah* of Scriptures (and Ἐλχᾶ of the LXX., *Ed.*).

11. ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ
ΟΑΜΟCΝΑЄΜ
CΑΘΑΟCCΙΧΜΟ
ΒΑCCΟCΟΥΛΠΙΟΥ
ΒΟΡΔΟCCΑ
ЄΠΙΚΚΟΠΟΙC(?)ΚΤ
ΩΝΤΟΥΘЄΟΥЄΚΤΙCΑ
ЄΤΟΥC $\overline{\text{PM}}$

This Inscription, in very beautiful characters, and excellent preservation, I found on the ruins of a small temple beside the town of *Hebrân* (see Burckhardt, p. 89, *Ed.*), in the Gebel Haurân.

12. ΥΠΕΡΓΩΤΗΡΙΑΓΚΥΡΙΟΥΚΑΙΓΑΡΟΓΤΙΤΙΥΑΙΛΙΟΥΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝ°Υ
ΓΕΒΑΓΤΟΥЄΥΓΕΒΟΥΓΟΝΑΟΓЄΚΤΩΝΙЄΡΑΤΙΚΩΝЄΚΤΙΓΘΗЄΤΟΥΓΟΚΤΩΚΑΙ
ΔЄΚΑΤΟΥΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥΚΑΙΓΑΡΟΓΠΡΟΝΟΗΓΑΜΕΝΩΝΑΡΙΓΤΕΙΔΟΥΟΑΙΜ°ΥΟΑΙΘΕ
ΛΟΥ
ΕΜΜΕΠΛΟΥΕΜΜΕΓΑΝΗΧΑΜΕΝΟΥΕΓΔΕΚΩΝΘΑΙΜΥΑΒΧ°Ρ°ΥΕΝ°ΥΜΑΓΕΧ°ΥΕΜΜΕΓ
ΑΝΗΝΑΡ°ΥΙΕΡ°ΤΑΜΙΩΝ

The following fragment is from a tower standing amid the extensive and massive ruins of *Kureiyeh* (called *Kereye* by Burckhardt, p. 103, *Ed.*), near *Busrah* (*Boszra* of Burckhardt, p. 226, *Ed.*), which I have identified with the *Kerioth* of Jer. xlviii. 24 (or *Καριὼθ* of the LXX., *Ed.*). The letters are rudely formed and much defaced. I question whether it can be read.

13. ΙΦΑΘΗCΛΜΙΜSCΕΟΟ
ϹΥΜΒΙΟΥΑΝΝΑΕΚΕΔΥ
ΤΙCΑΤΟΜΕΜΔΡΙΝΕCΩΓΟΛ
ϚΤΕΚΝΟΝΕΤΧCΦΔΧ(?)ΡΙΓ?
ΝΟΚ+CΔΛΑΝ(?)ΟΜ(?) ||||||||||||||||

II.—INSCRIPTIONS AND NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

In order that the previous Inscriptions may be more easily read, I have here given them in the ordinary small Greek type. Most of them I have translated; and I have also added some notes, which may assist towards the more fully illustrating of them. But the want of sufficient leisure has prevented me from examining, with proper attention, several subjects of much interest connected with them.

1. Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν Κυρίων
ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων Καισ
άρων Μάρκων Ἰουλίων
(Φιλίππων ὑψι) στῷ (ΔΙΙ) ἀφιερώ
θη καὶ συνετελέσθη ναὸς Ἀειχά
λας ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Μάρκον Αὐρήλι

ον Ἀνίον γάωρο(ν) καὶ γά(ω)ρον ΟΔΣίμ
θου βουλευτοῦ(ιε)ροταμιῶν.

Below it.

ἐκ τῶν τοῦ
Θεοῦ. Ἔτους
Ζνφ. Ὑπερβερε
ταίου. ιε.

The fourth line may be restored as above, Φιλίππων ὑψίστῳ Διΐ (or Θεῷ, see *Acts* xvii. 23). The Cæsars *Marci Julii Philippi*, father and son, were copartners in the empire from A. D. 247 to 249. The elder was an Arab by birth; he was born at *Bostra*, *Bozrah* of the Bible, now *Busrah*, in the Haurân, according to Zonaras; or, as Victor says, in the Trachonitis, which was a northern portion of the Auranitis. The son had the same names as his father; and, bearing the same titles of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, he was associated in the empire with him. He died A. D. 249. The exact date of the Inscription is thus nearly determined. It has been a subject of great controversy whether, or not, the elder Philip had embraced Christianity. The affirmative would seem to be the fact from St. Jerome and Eusebius. (*Vide* Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 33, and Dionys. Alexand. ap. Euseb, lib. vii. cap. 10). And if the letters ὕψι . . . Διΐ have originally been cut where Mr. Porter marks an *erasure on purpose*, this circumstance would appear in some degree confirmatory of it; for the temple, at *first* dedicated to *Jupiter*, might possibly have been *afterwards* converted into a Christian church, when Philip himself had become a *Christian;*—at least, this might account for the *erasure*. The Inscription proceeds to

state the 'dedication and finishing of the Temple' *Ἀειχάλας*.

I conclude the name of the ancient town was *Ἀειχάλα*—*Aeichala*, or *Aichala*; though possibly it may have been *Haeichala*, or *Haichala*. As yet I can find no notice of any such place, either in the ancient classical writers, or in the Scriptures; neither is this name to be seen in the list of towns near Damascus, which is given in *Ptolemy*, although it may have been founded after the time in which that geographer lived. But Ammianus Marcellinus mentions (*lib.* XXIV. *cap.* 2) a fortress on the Euphrates, called *Achaiachala* (*Ἀχαιαχάλα*); still, as this was about half a degree north of the parallel of Damascus, it was far too distant to be identified with it. Again, the only other ancient name, which nearly resembles it, and which I have met with, is that of *Hachila*, or *Hachilah* as translated in our Bible, the Greek form of which in the LXX. is *Ἐχελά* = *Hechela*. This name occurs in 1 *Sam.* xxiii. 19; and xxvi. 1, 3; but it cannot be identified with *Ἀειχάλα*, because the former was situate near Maon and Ziph to the south of *Hebron* in Judæa. In the 'Onomasticon' it is written without the aspirate, *Ἐχελὰ*, *Echela;* and at that period it was called *Ἐνκηάλα* = *Enceala*, which St. Jerome has incorrectly interpreted 'Eccela.' (Vide *Hieron.* Opera, vol. ii. p. 439, edit. *Par.* 1699.)

Thus far I had written, before I had an opportunity of consulting *Böckh's* 'Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum' (*tom.* iii. p. 238), where I found that he has given a copy of this inscription (No. 4516) from

the Conte *di Vidua*, who had himself made a transcript of it in Syria in 1821.[1]

Böckh's copy reads *Ἀεχαλας*, but the learned annotator makes no suggestion on this word. Having myself previously considered it not unlikely that Mr. *Porter* had, from some cause or other, erroneously copied it, I, on seeing *Vidua's* work, abandoned the idea; for *both* transcripts—and the second made after an interval of full thirty years—giving nearly the *identical* word—seemed to *confirm* its accuracy.

The Count supposes that the place, which he terms *Dmeir*—"six hours to the east of Damascus," where he saw the inscription, "on the eastern front of an existing temple"—corresponds to the "Statio *ad Medera*" of the 'Tabula Peutingeriana;' but on comparing this with Mr. *Porter's* account, there will appear to be some discrepancy both in the distance and in the modern name of the village.

On examining *Peutinger's* Table,[2] I noticed both the Station *ad Medera*, and another called *Adamana*; but I think they are both too much to the *north* to correspond with Mr. *Porter*'s description of *Maksûra*—"on the borders of the Desert, *seven hours east* of Damascus." Since *Peutinger's* Table has only laid down the relays, or stations, along the principal roads, and *not* all the *cities* which may have stood in their vicinity, the "large town," whose "ruins with

[1] *Vide* tab. 23, No. 2, p. 28, 'Inscriptiones Antiquæ à Comite *Carolo Vidud* in Turcico Itinere collectæ.' *Par.* 1826.

[2] 'Tabula Itineraria Peutingeriana,' in Segmento X. ex edit. *C. Mannert*, Lipsiæ, 1824. I should remark that in this edition the word 'Damaspo' is seen, and not *Damasco:* may not this be an abbreviation for *Damaspolis*—i. e. 'the city of *Damas*?'

a strong citadel," Mr. *Porter* says, "are near" *Maksúra*, most likely occupies the site of the ancient city *Aichala*, and in the suburbs of which the "fine Temple" still remains.

This city doubtless existed in the *third* century of our era, near where this inscription was discovered; and it was perhaps founded by the Emperor *Philip*, who, about the same time, conferred his own name upon a city (*Philippopolis*) in the Haurân, and which is supposed to have been where *Oerman* now stands. —(See *Burckhardt's* 'Syria,' p. 98, inscription No. 1; and *Aurel. Victor* 'de Cæsar. Hist.' cap. 28.)

Marcus Aurelius Aneus is termed γάωρος (Doric for γήωρος) a 'land-guardian,' and the 'land-guardian of O. L. (*Octavius Lucius*, or two similar names) *Simthus*' (or Simthes). But I observe that *Böckh* has suggested the following for the latter part of this inscription:—*Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Ἄν(θ)ον Γ. Ἀόρου? καὶ . . . . . βουλευτο(ῦ) εἰροταμιῶ(ν).*

For the magistrates designated *ἱεροταμίαι*, see my note to the inscription No. 12.

Ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ,—here is understood the word *χρημάτων*, signifying, 'from the funds (or money) of the God,' *i. e.* the *sacred funds*. Refer to No. 11, and the note thereto.

Ἔτους $\overline{ζνφ}$. *Ὑπερβερεταίου.* $\overline{ιε}$.—doubtless the date of the inscription—meaning—'of the year $\overline{755}$. Of *Hyperberetæus*, $\overline{15}$.' The year here given must clearly be read from right to left, for $\phi' = 500$, and $\zeta' =$ only 7,[1] whilst the day of the month (*Hyper-*

[1] This is also shown in another inscription preserved in *Gruter* ('Corpus Inscriptionum,' *tom.* i. p. 86, No. 8), which was found in

beretæus = October) must be read from left to right = 15. The mention of "Hyperberetæus" proves that this date is calculated from the commencement of the era of the *Seleucidæ*, or the usual *Syro-Macedonian* mode of dating.[1] And herein *Böckh* has come to the same conclusion, for he writes, "anni *Seleucid.* 557 m. *Hyperberetæi* d. XV. incidit in d. VIII. m. *Sept.* anni U. C. 999,"—(Corp. Inscrip. Græc. vol. iii. p. 238,) which would = 246 A. D. In this, however, there seems to be an *error* of a *few months*, because the best accounts assert, that in the year 244 A. D. the Elder Philip was proclaimed emperor, and his son named Cæsar, but that it was not until three years after that they were *both* associated in the *empire*. The present inscription, recording that there were two "*emperors* Marci Julii" *Philippi*, determines that it could not have been before the beginning of the year 247 A. D. that this inscription was erected. Taking the Syro-Macedonian era to begin in the year B. C. 312, an *error* of some twelve or eighteen months in a period of so many (557) years is but trifling, and may easily arise from a slight difference in the computation, or in the neglect of twenty-four hours, or so, in each year. Time, at present, forbids me from inquiring more

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Palmyra. It gives for the date, also written from *right to left*, the following:—ἐτους ζμφ. μνος Πρίτιου, *i. e.* 'of the year 547, of the month *Peritius*' (February) = 236 A. D., and which thus states only a difference of *ten* years between the two inscriptions.

[1] This method of computation by the Syro-Macedonians is styled in 1 *Maccabees*, i. 10, "of the kingdom of the Greeks;" that is to say, of the *Seleucidæ*, or of the Greek rulers in Syria.

minutely into the chronological details of this portion of history.

2. Ἄβεβος Ἀυ
μου καὶ Ἀδ̄
δος καὶ Ἄυμος
υἱοὶ Ζαβάου
θ(ε)ίου τὸ(μνημεῖ)
ον (ἐ)ποίησαν

'Abebus the son of Aumus, and Aëdus and Aumus the sons of Sabäus, made the sepulchre of their uncle' (*θείου*, his name not being added).

3. Πρόκλος Αὔμου
τῷ θεῷ τὸν Γα
νυμή(δ)ην ἐξ ἰδί
ων ὑπὲρ Ἄυμου
υἱου ἀνέθηκεν

'Proclus the son of Aumus placed (the statue of) *Ganymede* to Jupiter (or the God) at his own expense for the sake of his son Aumus.' Mr. Porter states that this inscription was found at *Hiyât* in the north portion of the Gebel Haurân; I find that Burckhardt (p. 78) has given one very similar, which he copied from "the wall of a solid building" at the same place, which he writes *El Hait*. Since the one confirms the corrections of the other, I subjoin it here.

(Θε)όφιλος Μο
(ν)ίμου φιλοτ
ιμήσαμεν
(ο)ς τὸν Γανυ
(μ)ήδην (ἐκτ)ῶ(ν)
ἰδίων ἀνήγ
(ε)ιρεν

'Theophilus the son of Monimus honouring (the

God) erected (the statue of) *Ganymede* at his own expense.'

4. Διὶ μέγιστῳ Ἄρα
βίν(ι)ος Διομήδους
κατ'(ἐ)υχὴν ἀ(ν)ήγειρεν

'Arabinius the son of Diomedes built (this) to Jupiter the Greatest, according to his vow.'

5. Ἀίλιος Μά(ξ)ιμος ἔπαρχος
τῇ πατρίδι ἐκτίσεν διὰ Ἡρώδου
Ἡρώδου ἰδίου καὶ διὰ
Φιλίππου Μάλχου καὶ
Ἄδδου Ἀκραβάνου
ἐπιμελητῶν

'Ælius Maximus Proconsul (or Proprætor) founded (this *Fountain*) for his country by means of Herod, (the son) of Herod of his own country, and by means of Philip Malchus, and of Addus Acrabanus, superintendents (of the work).'

For the name of *Μάλχος*, see John xviii. v. 10; and *Ἀδδί*, *Addi*, see Luke iii. 28, and Ezra ii. 15. *Ἀκράβανος* may signify an inhabitant of the town, or district, of *Ἀκραβί*, *Acrabi*, in Samaria—the *Acrabatene* of Pliny, Nat. Hist. v. 15. The ancient name is now retained in that of *Akrabeh*, situate about eight miles south-east of Nabulus.

6.

	Ὄλβιε ἀνδρῶν	
	Φίλιππε Δουκ(ά)	(ἐκ π)
	(α)ρ(ά)ταξεως Δού	
κ(α)ς	ὃς μνῆμα συν	ῆ(δε)ι
ἐκ	θεμε(λί)ων ἐγ(ε)ίρ	ας
ἀμ	φερ(έ)ψα(τ)ο σὺν	Ἡδ(α)
πα	ρακοίτι καὶ τέ	(κ) ν
ν	οισι εἰς κλέος ἀ	εἰ
	καὶ Σαλάμαν(νφ)	

'O happy of men, Philip Doucas of the first rank, Doucas, who assented (in) erecting (this) tomb from the foundations, covered it in with (his) wife Heda (or Hedypa) and children, and Salamannus, for a perpetual honour.'

Ἐκ παρατάξεως, in the second and third lines, if properly supplied, is probably a military term, meaning in the front, or *first rank*, of a phalanx.

7. . . . . Ἄυσος (ἑ)αυτοῦ θεό IIIIIIII
. . . . ρος πᾶσι θειουονε
. . . . νοσα Βίβου ἄνα
. . . . μοσ(ἑ)αυτοῦ Ζοβε
. . . . δος (κ)ατα μελουπι
. . . . στυι αν(η)γειραν
. . . . τοτυχιονἐκ
. . . . τοτη IIIIIIIIIIII

Too imperfect to translate.

8. ΚΕΠρίσκος ἐφ(ἑ)σταο
Υκεη ◁ εδρ

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ (Αἰλιά)	νου
Ἄυξίλεβ(οῦ)ἀπ(ὸ)	κώμ(ῆ)
Ἀλαδαπανῆ(ς) κα(ὶ)	ς (ἐκ)
(ἐκ) τῶν πιστῶν Μᾶλ	χο
χος Κεος (ἐ)β(ίωσ)ε	ν

Ἄ(ου)ιτος ΚΣΝέστ(ο)ρ(ο)ς

The first line states *C. E. Priscus* was Præfect, or Governor. The remaining lines, after the second, perhaps signify—'To the Good Fortune of (Ælia)nus Auxilebus of the village of Haladapana. And Malchus Ceus, one of the faithful, passed his life.'—'Avitus the son of C. S. Nestor.'

The Priscus here mentioned may probably be *that*

Priscus whom the Emperor Philip, the elder, about A. D. 245, made governor of Syria. Some say he was the brother of that emperor.

The proper name *Κέος*, *Ceus*, may be correct; or it may be an error for *Γέος*, *Geus*, that occurs in the inscription No. 3, at p. 107, *Burckhardt's* 'Syria,' which was found at *Thaale*, about ten miles south-west of Suweidah.

Mr. Porter's *ηβεουκεν* may be either *ἐβίωσεν*, or *βεβίωκεν*.

The last word *Νεστωρις* seems to be the Latin genitive *Nestoris*, written in Greek letters; *ω* is often promiscuously used for *ο*.

9. Μνημαμεοραισπερικαλλεσαοιδιμοναι
Ενοδιταισεοιδεμουκουπερβεπελειαων
Δοηοσεπυσρουφινοσδεηετευξεβε
Ουδιοτητιτεταγμαιγηραλεουσδεξαι
Βαιατανεονουποτεπανπανειμιδ
Αλυποτατοσκαιντηρπαντεσινετοιηος
Υιασιθυιωνοιστεπολυπρωτιγηρασιου
ΕνεαδοσΝεοπολιτησοικοδομησενευτυχ

Are these lines intended for elegiac verses?

The commencement is perhaps as follows:

Μνῆμά με Ὥραις περικαλλέσι Δαίμονσι
Ἐν ὁδίταῖς

In the fifth line *Βαιάτανεον* is from *Βαταναία*, *Batanæa* or Bashan, so used by Josephus, who also has *ἐν Βατανειάδι*. *Batanæa* was only a portion of the original Bashan.

The last line may be thus restored:

Ἐνεάδος Νεαπολίτης ᾠκοδόμησεν εὐτυχῶς.

'*Eneadus*, an inhabitant of Neapolis, built this

(*μνῆμά*) fortunately.' This *Neapolis* is probably Shechem, and Sychar, in Samaria, which is at this day preserved in the name of *Nabulus*, *Napolose*, *Naplouse*, or *Nablous*.

10. Εὐτυχίᾳ κυρίου
Καίσαρος (ΜΑὐρήλ)
Ἀντωνίνου ἐπὶ Δο
μιτίου Δέξτρου ὑ
πατικοῦ Ἡτολίπους
ἀπὸ τῶν Γήπων ἀπὸ
Γουσαρέων καὶ Νά
θων Ἀφετάθων Ὀρ
σούων ἐπεσκεύα
σ(α)ν καὶ κατεσκεύα
σ(α)ν καὶ τὸν ναὸν
τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐν (Γέ)ῤ
ῥοις σὺν τοῖς ἀγάλ
μασιν ἀνέστησ(αν)
ἐπισκόπους(τ)ῆς φυ
λῆς Σομαιθη
νῶν

This may possibly be thus rendered—

'To the good fortune of the Lord Cæsar (*M. Aurelius*) *Antoninus*, after Domitius Dexter (was) Consul, Hetolipus from the Gepi from Gousarea, and Nathon Aphetathon (from the) Orsovi, prepared and constructed both the temple to Minerva in *Gerrha*, with the statues, (and) instituted overseers of the tribe (of the) Somætheni.'

The first word in this inscription is difficult to decipher; if not *εὐτυχίᾳ*, it may be *εὐτυχεῖ;* or *ἐυχωλῇ*, *voto;* but *ἐυχῇ*, signifying the same as the last, is more frequent.

Domitius Dexter was consul in A. D. 196; and I think the date of this monument will be A. D. 213,

or a year or two afterwards. The emperor (M. Aurelius) *Antoninus* (Caracalla) being named *alone*, it would seem that his colleague *Geta* was dead, and therefore *subsequent* to A. D. 212, when that event occurred. There is much uncertainty about the proper names—whether some be the names of *nations*, or only of φυλαὶ, *tribes*. Γουσάρεων may be the genitive of Γουσάρεα, or Γυψάρια—*Gypsaria*, which was a town in Arabia Petræa, and is laid down in the large map of *Burckhardt's* 'Syria and the Holy Land' as next Wadi *Gharandel*, near the parallel of 30° N. lat.

Ἀῤῥοις,—as I can find no town in Batanæa bearing the name of *Arrhi*, or *Arrha*, I think it very likely to be an error in the transcript for Γέῤῥοις, *Gerrha*, which we know from *Ptolemy* existed near the place (*Suweidah*) where this inscription was discovered. That geographer names Γέῤῥα among the towns—Βαταναίας χώρας τῆς ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν ἡ Σακκαία[1] καὶ ταύτης ὑπὸ τὸ Ἀλσάδαμον ὄρος οἱ Τραχωνῖται Ἄραβες. (*Ptolemæi* Geograph. lib. v. cap. 14.) The Ἀλσάδαμος ὄρος, or *Mount Alsadamus*, is generally considered to be what is now called Gebel *Haurân*, the highest point of which bears the name of *Kuleib*, which, as Mr. Porter says, is the diminutive of *kalb*, a 'heart,' and not *kelb* (a dog), according to Burckhardt. This most elevated portion, or summit, of the Gebel Haurân range may be so named from its *cordiform*, or somewhat *heart-shaped*, cone. I have not met with any particular notice of *Gerrha* in Reland's 'Palæstina:' that work merely mentions in the Index, "*Gerra* in

[1] Σακκαία, or *Saccæa*, bears at this day the name of *Shuka*.

Batanæâ;"—nor have I found any such place in Josephus.

But *Ἀῤῥοις* in this inscription may possibly be intended for *Ἄδροις*,—*Ἄδρα*, *Adra*, being also a town of the Decapolis according to Ptolemy (*lib.* v. *cap.* 14), the true position of which appears not to have been determined.

Can the modern name of a neighbouring village, distant about one hour to the south of Suweidah—*Erraha*, be corrupted from the ancient *Gerrha*?—It seems from Burckhardt, that Suweidah must have been a very large city, for "the circuit of its ruins is at least *four miles*." (See *Burck.* 'Syria,' p. 81 and p. 87.)

Gerrha is laid down in Map No. 18, 'Palæstina,' in Dr. *C. de Spruner's* 'Atlas Antiquus,' (Gothæ, 1850,) though it is certainly placed too much to the N. W.

Φυλῆς Σομαιθηνῶν—'of the tribe of the *Somætheni*.' I find in another inscription discovered by Mr. Buckingham some years ago in the *same* place (*Suweidah*), mention is made *φυλῆς Αἰταιηνῶν*, 'of the tribe of the Ætæeni,'—the date of which is given in Böckh as A. D. 171. (*Vide* 'Corp. Inscrip. Græc.' vol. iii. p. 264, No. 4617.)

Also, in a third inscription of A. D. 236, published in Burckhardt's 'Syria,' (p. 90, No. 2,) which was found in *Hebran*, only about ten miles south of the former place, *φύ(λλ)ο(ν) Αἰσδηνῶν* is transcribed; but this expression is clearly erroneous, for *φύλλον*[1] cannot mean a *tribe*. Another reading is suggested by

[1] *Φύλλον* I conclude is a mistake for *φῦλον*, which is the same as *φυλή*, *tribus*; *gens*.

Böckh, (*ibid.* p. 266, No. 4624,) which is φυ(λ)έ (τ)αὶ Ἐδηνῶν,—'people of the tribe of the *Edeni:*' it may therefore be asked, are the Σομαίθηνοι, Ἀιταίηνοι, and Ἔδηνοι, or Ἀιεδηνοι, *three* distinct tribes which existed in the same, or immediate, district? or are they incorrectly copied for one, or at most two?

11. Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ
Οᾶμος Νάεμ(ος)
Σάθαος Σίχμο(ς)
Βάσσος Οὐλπίου
Βορδόσσα
ἐπί(σ)κοποι(ἐ)κτ
ὧν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔκτισα(ν)
Ἔτους ρμ

'With Good Fortune. Oämus Nahemus Sathäus Sichmus (and) Bassus the son of Ulpius Bordossas (being) overseers, founded (this) from the funds of the God. Of the year 140.'

In the second line, *Ναεμ* may be restored to *Ναέμος*, *Nahemus*, or *Νεεμίας*, *Nehemiah*. *Σαθαος* may perhaps be an error for *Σαμσεος*, *Samseus*, which proper name occurs in the inscription No. 3, p. 102, of Burckhardt's 'Syria,' that was also found at *Salkhad*. *Βασσος*, *Bassus*, being a common name, it was necessary to identify him as 'the son of *Ulpius Bordossas:*' so another *Βασσος* is called 'the son of *Andromachus*,' in an inscription given in Burckhardt (*ibid.*), which was likewise copied on the *same* spot.

In the seventh line, *χρημάτων*, or some such word, must be understood; the expression then is equivalent to ἐκ τῶν ἱερατικῶν ἔκτισαν, which is seen in the following inscription (No. 12).

Ἔτους ρμ. = 'of the year 140.' If this be calculated

from the era of the *Seleucidæ* (which is most probable), I think $\bar{\rho}$ must be a mistake in the copy for $\bar{\phi}$; $\bar{\phi}\bar{\mu} = 540$; consequently this date would then correspond with the year of our Lord 229, when Alexander Severus was emperor. See the observations before made on the inscription (No. 1), respecting the Annus *Seleucidarum*.

12. Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας κυρίου Καίσαρος Τίτ(ο)υ Αἰλίου Ἀδριάνου Ἀντωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς ὁ ναὸς ἐκ τῶν ἱερατικῶν ἔκτίσθη ἔτους ὀκτὼ καὶ Δέκατου Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος προνοησαμένων Ἀριστείδου Οὰμου (κ)αὶ Θηλου Ἐμμέπλου Ἐμμεγάνη(ς ἡγού)μενοῦ ἐ(κ) Δέκων Θαιμνάβ χῶρου(ὠ)νομασ(μ)έ(ν)ου Ἐμμεγάνη(ς) Ἄρου ἱεροταμιῶν.

'For the safety of the lord Cæsar *Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus* Augustus Pius, this Temple was founded out of the sacred funds in the eighteenth year of *Antoninus* Cæsar, Aristides Oaïmus, and Thelus Emmeplus Emmegane, Governor of *Decon* in the district called *Thæmuab*, (and) Emmegane Arus, the sacred Quæstors, having preconsulted.'

I take the emperor here named to be *Antoninus Pius:* and the inscription records that the temple (near *Hebran*) was founded in the *eighteenth* year of his reign, which would be A. D. 155. The name *Oäimos* is, according to Böckh, *Θαΐμος, Thaïmus.* (*Vide* vol. iii. Nos. 4611, 12, 19); in the preceding inscription *Οὰμος, Oämus*, is given, which probably should be *Θάμος, Thamus.* The other names of the persons are somewhat obscure: these were the magistrates termed *Sacred Quæstors, ἱεροταμίαι;* the treasurers, or dispensers of the sacred funds, from which they defrayed the costs of erecting the temple.

'Thelus Emmeplus Emmegane, being governor of

Decon of (or in) the district called *Thæmuab:*' as to the correctness of *ἡγουμενοῦ* refer to St. Matthew ii. 6, and Acts xiv. 12; also to St. Luke ii. 2.

And Mr. Porter has copied the names of the places thus:—*Εγδεκων Θαιμναβ χορου:* if correct, the sense would be '*of Endeca* of the district of *Thæmuab;*' or it may be *ἐκ Δέκων Θαιμωάβ χώρου*, '*of Deca* (or *Decon*) of the district of *Thæmoab.*' As I cannot find any notice of any places bearing those *exact names*, I must suppose that they have been incorrectly transcribed, and shall therefore merely suggest such places as may appear most like those words, which seem to be compounded of Greek, and Syriac, or Hebrew.

The Greek word for *Moab* in the LXX. is not MYAB, but MΩAB; also PABAΘMΩMA of Stephanus Byzantinus (*vide* p. 651, vol. i. edit. *A. Berkelius*, Lugd. Bat. 1694), is the same as BAΘMΩBA, which is seen on a coin of Septimius Severus. (See *Mionnet*, 'Descrip. des Médailles,' tom. v. p. 590, No. 51.) This is the city generally called *Rabbath Moab*, which might likewise be written in Greek PABAΘMΩAB, or BAΘMΩAB. This word then seems most to resemble ΘAIMΩAB. *Rabbath Moab* is identified with *Rabbah*, (Josh. xiii. 25,) which at this day retains its name in Arabic, *Rabba*. It was at first a capital city; though, in after time, it might probably have conferred its name on the adjoining district (*χῶρος*), as was a common custom in Palestine. On the eastern coast of the Dead Sea—nearly at the moiety of its length—at an equal distance (about thirteen miles) from its shore, and from *Rabba* on the south, there is a place nearly three and a half miles north of the ancient river *Arnon* (*Ἀρνών*), now

the *Mudjeb*, called at this day by the Arabs *Dhiban;* it is laid down in Burckhardt's and Kiepert's respective maps of Palestine, and considered to be the site of the scriptural *Dibon*, which was situated near *Aroer* (*Ἀροὴρ*, hodiè *Aräyr*).

Dibon in the LXX., translated ΔΗΒΩΝ in v. 2, and *Dimon*, ΔΕΙΜΩΝ, in v. 9, of the fifteenth chapter of *Isaiah*, are *identical*, according to St. Jerome and the Latin Vulgate; and the same place is again written ΔΑΙΒΩΝ in *Numbers* xxi. 30, and *Jeremiah* xlviii. 18 and 22. This ancient city was in the earlier territory of Moab before the Exodus (*Numb.* xxi. 26), and we learn from Jeremiah (chap. xlviii. v. 18–24), that it again became part of the possessions of *Moab*, *Μωάβ*, or the region of Moab, *Μωαβίτις*, as the word occurs in v. 1, and v. 2, *Isaiah* xv.; and if, for the latter, the similar phrase *Βαθμωάβ χῶρος* be used, we should find that *Dibon* was properly described, as lying *within* the later *territory* of *Moab*. Consequently my suggested restoration of ΕΚΔΗΒΩΝΒΑΘΜΩΑΒΧΩΡΟΥ for ΕΓΔΕΚΩΝΘΑΙΜΥΑΒΧΟΡΟΥ may very probably prove correct. I may here further remark that *Stephanus Byzantinus* likewise writes, *Χαράκμωβα*, meaning the 'trench of Moab,' instead of *Χαράκμωάβ*, *Characmoab*. It is called 'Kir of Moab' in our English Bible (*Isaiah* xv. 1), which in the LXX. is translated, *τὸ τεῖχος τῆς Μωαβίτιδος*, 'the wall of *Moabitis*,' or 'the defence of the land of *Moab*.' The site of it preserves at this day the Arabic name of *Karak* (Castle) only, and is situate about eight and a half miles more to the south from the ruins of *Rabbath Moab*.

Dibon being a strong city, or stronghold, would most likely be under the command of an officer, as *Governor*, ἡγούμενος. And this is rendered more certain, because the 'Notitia Dignitatûm Imperii' mentions "Cohors III. Alpinorum apud *Arnona;*" and again, "Cohors III. Felix Arabum in ripâ vadi *Apharis* fluvii in castris *Arnonensibus.*" The river *Aphar* was a tributary of the *Arnon;* and probably a *castrum* at *Dibon* would be included in these "Castra *Arnonensia.*" The ruins still existing at *Dhiban* are described as those of a large place, and from which vestiges of a Roman road, with milestones here and there, leading through Aroer to Rabbath Moab (*Βαθμωβὰ*), are easily recognized.

A *second* topographical suggestion I will here state, but which I consider to be less probable than the former, *viz.* the substitution of ΔΕΙΩΝΑΡΓΟΒ, or ΔΕΙΩΝΕΡΓΑΒ, or ΔΕΙΩΝΑΡΓΥΑΒ, for ΔΕΚΩΝΘΑΙΜΥΑΒ, that is to say, '*Dion* of (or in) the district called *Argob.*'

Dion was a city of the Decapolis (*Mark* vii. 31), in "the region of *Argob,*" which was a portion of Batanæa, or of Bashan (1 *Kings* iv. 13), and is identified in Burckhardt's large 'Map of the Haurân' with *Tel Dehama.* Josephus, Ptolemy, and Stephanus Byzantinus write the name *Δίον*, and the last author that of the inhabitants *Δειηνοι* (vide *Steph. Byzan.* vol. i. p. 303, note 83); hence this town might be as correctly written ΔΕΙΟΝ, or ΔΕΙΩΝ. *Argob* is rendered both into *Ἀργὸβ* in the LXX. (in *Deut.* iii. 4, 13), and into *Ἐργὰβ* (in 1 *Kings* iv. 13.) The chief objection to this restoration is, that I believe the word *Argob* is only a *scriptural* one, and was

not ordinarily used by the Greeks and Romans; neither do I know that it occurs upon any of their coins. But since *Mannert* observes ('Geogr. der Griech. und Röm.' vol. vi. i. p. 244) that the word *Decapolis* is alone used by authors in the *first* century of our era, it is possible that the original name *Argob* was resumed at a subsequent period.

In the *third* place. The Region, which perhaps had a name nearest to *Thæmuab*, is that called in the Bible *Teman*, or *Theman*, and in the LXX. in *Isaiah* xxi. 14, ἡ χὼρα Θαιμὰν, and by Ptolemy (*lib.* vi.) Θαῖμα. It was in Idumæa, or *Edom*, (see *Isaiah* xxi. 14, and *Jeremiah* xlix. 7,) near the Desert of Arabia, adjoining on that of Syria; but if it could be shown that it had in later times belonged to *Moab*, or the *Moabitis*, it might then have been properly termed Θαῖμαμωάβ, or Θαιμωάβ. A neighbouring city bore also the name of *Dedan*,[1] Δαιδὰν, for which Δεκων might possibly have been a mistake.

This supposition, however, is not very likely, because it does not appear that *Dedan* and the district of *Thæman* were directly under the Roman government, or that they *bore those* appellations with the Romans.

As places in Syria and the Holy Land had frequently two or more *different* names, in Hebrew and Greek; *e. g.* Tadmor, or Θοεδμὸρ, or Palmyra; Shechem, or Sychem, or Sychar, or Neapolis, or according to Pliny (v. 13), also Mamortha, and Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 8, 1), Mabortha (*Μαβορθὰ*); Pella, or Boutis (*Βοῦτις*); Bethshan (*Βαιθσὰν*), or

[1] See more especially the Alexandrine version of *Isaiah* xxi. 11–15; also *Jerem.* xxv. 28, and xlix. 8.

Scythopolis, &c.; the identification of them is consequently rendered extremely difficult. So there may have existed *other* names for *Δέκων* and *Θαιμνάβ*.

13. Ἰφαθης (Ἀ)μ(έ)μψ(θ)εος
σύμβιου Ἄννα(φ)κ(ο)δ(ό)
(μη)σ(ε) τὸ μ(ν)ῆμ(α) (σὺ)ν(κα)σίγ(νητφ)
(καὶ) τέκν(φ) ἐνχ(ῆ)ς χ(ά)ρω
ἐκ(τῶν) ἰδί(ω)ν IIIIIIIIIIII

'Iphathes Amempstheus built the tomb of his wife Anna, with his brother and child, for the sake of his vow, out of his own money.'

This last inscription, as copied by Mr. *Porter*, is very imperfect. I have ventured (with much doubt) to restore it as above.

I have already remarked that Gebel Haurân is now admitted to be the former *Mount Alsadamus*, in which range, from the description given by Mr. *Porter*, there appear *two* conical peaks, the one termed by the Arab natives *Abu Tumeis*, 'Father *Tumeis*,' and the other *El Kuleib*, 'the little heart,' which is supposed to be the most lofty, and to attain nearly 6000 feet in altitude above the Mediterranean. To the east of this range of hills, the view over the bare desert is almost boundless, whilst the country to the west and south appears in spots to be fertile and interesting, especially that on the south-east, the former district of *Batanæa*, which constituted a part of the original *Bashan*. "The whole of this region," Mr. *Porter* writes, "is picturesque. The mountains are covered with forests of the evergreen oak, their sides are everywhere terraced, and the vales and glens between are rich and fertile. Around *Bathanyeh* and *Shuka*

the soil is the finest in the Haurân, and celebrated for the superiority of its wheat. Along the whole eastern side, as I was informed, the slopes resemble those of *Heit* and *Shuka*. Throughout all the province the pastures are the best I have anywhere seen in Syria. The grass grows luxuriantly among the trees, and underwood on the mountains, and there is a pleasing variety in the landscapes that I have nowhere else seen in this land. The natural beauties, too, are much enhanced by the ruins of towns and villages scattered over the hills. Some peak or cliff is still in view, as one wanders along, crowned with its temple or castle; while the graceful forms of lofty columns are here and there seen shooting up over the green foliage."

And the numerous "cities,"[1] he continues, "with their walls and gates, crumbling but not fallen, still remain, the living monuments of its former greatness, and the irresistible proofs of the minute accuracy and truth of God's word. The most remarkable feature of the ruins that are everywhere met with in this district is the wonderful state of

[1] Holy Writ (*Deut.* iii. 4) speaks of no fewer than "threescore cities fenced with high walls, gates, and bars; beside unwalled towns a great many," which were in the populous "kingdom of Og in *Bashan*." So Dionysius in his 'Periegesis' (v. 898) has in his time, about 8 B.C., assigned to Syria the term Πολύπτολιν *alav*—and this was more particularly applicable to the *Auranitis* and *Bashan*. In Dr. *Eli Smith's* list, appear the names of 129 towns and villages in the plain of Haurân, and "the accuracy of these," Mr. *Porter* says, "I have myself been able in a great measure to verify." And he adds, "I have not only made a large map of the Haurân, but also mapped with some care the whole north-eastern section of Syria from Busrah to Homs."

preservation in which they are found—the massive walls yet standing, and in many places perfect; the streets with their ancient pavement unbroken, the houses complete and habitable as if only finished yesterday; and even the very doors and window-shutters in their places. Numbers of such towns I have visited. I have wandered along their streets, and read the history of the erection of their noble monuments, inscribed on tablets nearly two thousand years ago."

POSTSCRIPT.

After this Paper was in type, Messrs. Babington and Mayor, Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge, kindly looked over the pages, but they have not been able to suggest any other interpretations of the inscriptions, with the exception of one (No. 9)—than those which I had already attempted. They complain, as I have before done, of the incorrect manner in which many of them have been copied,—owing probably, in part, to Mr. Porter's want of time. A traveller passing hastily through a country cannot always avoid such mistakes; and more especially in hot weather, if the sun be too dazzling and scorching.

In order to bring under one view, by which the restoration of No. 9 can be more conveniently compared with the transcript made by Mr. Porter, I here re-insert that inscription, both in the large tpye and in the small ordinary characters.

9. ΜΝΗΜΑΜΕΟΡΑΙΣΠΕΡΙΚΑΛΛΕΣΑΟΙΔΙΜΟΝΑΙ
ΕΝΟΔΙΤΑΙΣΕΟΙΔΕΜΟΥΚΟΥΠΕΡΒΕΠΕΛΕΙΑΩΝ
ΔΟΗΟΣΕΠΥΣΡΟΥΦΙΝΟΣΔΕΗΕΤΕΥΞΕΒΕ
ΟΥΔΙΟΤΗΤΙΤΕΤΑΓΜΑΙΓΗΡΑΛΕΟΥΣΔΕΞΑΙ
ΒΑΙΑΤΑΝΕΟΝΟΥΠΟΤΕΠΑΝΠΑΝΕΙΜΙΔ
ΑΑ(?)ΥΠΟΤΑΤΟΣΚΑ(?)ΙΝΤΗΡΠΑΝΤΕΣΙΝΕΤΟΙΗΟΣ
ΥΙΑΣΙΘΥΙΩΝΟΙΣΤΕΠΟΛΥΠΡΩΤΙΓΗΡΑΣΙΟΥ
ΕΝΕΑΔΟΣΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΣΕΝΕΥΤΥΧ

9. *Μνημαμεορεισπερικαλλεσαοιδιμοναι*
Ενοδιταισεοιδεμουκουπερβεπελειαων
Δοησεπυσρουφινοσδεηετευξεβε
Ουδιοτητιτεταγμαιγηραλεουσδεξαι
Βαιατανεονουποτεπανπανειμιδ
Αλυποτατοσκαιντηρπαντεσινετοιησος
Υιασιθυιωνοιστεπολυπρωτιγηρασιου
Ενεαδοσνεοπολιτησοικοδομησενευτυχ

Messrs. Babington and Mayor have nearly restored it thus—

Μνῆμά μ' ὁρᾷς περικαλλὲς ἀοίδιμον ἀιὲν ὁδίταις,
Ἔστι δ' ἱροῦ κατύπερθε πελειάων δόμος ἐγγυς·
Ῥουφῖνος δέ μ' ἔτευξε, θεοῦ δ' ἰότητι τέταγμαι
Γηραλέους δέξασθαι, ἄταρ νέον ὕποτε πάμπαν·
Εἰμὶ δ' ἀλυπότατος κλιντὴρ πάντεσσιν ἕτοιμος
Υἱασι θ' υἱωνοῖς τε . . . . . .

Mr. Babington says in his *first* letter to me—"the conclusion of the last hexameter is perhaps—

. . . . . *πολυτρύτῳ ἐπὶ γήρᾳ*—

after which follows the name, &c. of the builder." But in his *second* letter he writes—"with regard to the concluding part of the last hexameter, I can think of nothing better than—

. . . . . *πολύπρωτιστον ἄσυλον.*"

Since I do not altogether agree with these scholars

on the *whole* of the reading as proposed by them, I here add the entire inscription—somewhat altered in the fourth and sixth verses to what appears to me nearer to the letters contained in Mr. Porter's copy—as well as a translation of it into English—

Μνῆμά μ' ὁρᾷς περικαλλὲς ἀοίδιμον ἀιὲν ὁδίταις,
Ἔστι δ' ἐμοῦ καθύπερθε πελειάων δόμος ἔγγυς·
Ῥουφῖνος δέ μ' ἔτευξε, θεοῦ δ' ἰότητι τέταγμαι
Γηραλέους δ' ἐνέχειν Βαΐαιτάνεον πότε πάμπαν·
Εἰμὶ δ' ἀλυπότατος κλιντὴρ πάντεσσιν ἕτοιμος
Υἱάσι, θ' υἱωνοῖς, τε πολὺ πρωτοῖς γηραιοῖς.

Ἐνεάδος Νεαπολίτης φκοδόμησεν εὐτυχῶς.

'You behold me a most beautiful monument always to be celebrated by travellers, and there is near to me above a house of doves. Rufinus founded me, and I indeed, ever wholly a Bætanean (or *Batanæan*), have been appointed by the will of the God, to hold within (me) aged people; I am also a couch, most free from grief, ready for all children, and grandchildren, and for (those) old people (who are) long before (them). Eneadus, a Neapolitan, built (this monument) fortunately.'

We all consider the last line to be prose. Rufinus seems to have been the founder, and Eneadus only the builder of this monument; and I have not been able to discover from either of these names anything which can lead us to determine its date or history.

With regard, however, to the *monument* itself, some doubt arises,—for Mr. Porter describes it as "a small but beautiful *temple*," and Mr. Babington supposes that "the inscription was written for a kind of *hostel*, into which old men were received gratuitously." But it strikes me as being more likely, that it was a

temple-like tomb,—or a *tomb* built in the *form* of a small *temple*, which was by no means unfrequent; and the term κλιντὴρ, if it be the original word, cannot I think be applied to a hostel, or asylum, or a place of refuge for old people, whilst the expression "a *couch* most free from grief," is extremely appropriate to a *tomb*, and indeed conveys a beautiful idea. Also, the words μνῆμὰ ἀοίδιμον ἀιὲν Ὀδίταις further show, as I conceive, the great probability of this monument having stood ἐν τῇ Ὁδῷ, on or *by the road* leading to that city, which formerly stood on the spot now occupied by *Suleim*—according to the general ancient custom,—and therefore always to be noticed and celebrated by wayfarers.

NOTES.

1. Tombs and sepulchral monuments are not unfrequently *personified* in ancient inscriptions and epigrams. For other examples, where tombs are made to speak in the *first* person singular, refer to *Böckh's* 'Corpus Inscrip. Græc.' tom. iii.

An inscription on a sepulchre likewise found in the Haurân by *Burckhardt* ('Syria,' p. 68), in a village called *Rima el Loehf*, or *Rimet el Luhf*, and contained in *Böckh's* collection (p. 256, No. 4588), speaking in the *first* person, ends thus—

δεξαίμην γηράσκοντας, εὐδαίμονας, τεκνώσαντας,

which bears some resemblance to the meaning expressed in the concluding verses of my No. 9.

To the former line *Böckh* has cited part of an epigram in verse from the 'Anthologia,' which saying, 'I am a tomb' (εἰμι τάφος), finishes with the following pentameter,—

Δεξαίμην ἐν ἐμοὶ τοὺς προτέρους προτέρους.

See the whole epigram in 'Anthologia Græca,' tom. i. VII. p. 373, No. 228, edit. *Lipsiæ*, 1813.

2. Also respecting 'a house of doves'—*πελειάων δόμος*—*Nicander* in his second Georgic (in *Athenæi* 'Deipnosoph.' lib. ix. cap. 11, s. 51), writes—

> *Καὶ τε σὺ γε θρέψαιο Δρακοντάδας διτοκεύσας,*
> *Ἡ Σικελὰς, μεγάροιο πελειάδας· οὐδέ φιν ἅρπαι,*
> *Οὐδέ φιν ἰρηκες, νωνήσιμοι ἐξενέποντα.*

3. Lastly, in my Inscription No. 12, I have restored the third word in the fourth line by (*ἡγου*)*μένου*,—probably however, (*ἡγε*)*μόνου* might be preferable. But at the time I did so, I could find no authority for the word *ἡγεμονὸς*, although I felt certain that I had seen it. I have since met with it in the accurate editions of *Hederich's* 'Lexicon,' *London*, 1816 and 1821 (edit. C. J. B.), where *sub. voc.* they say "*ἡγεμονὸς, ὁ*, idem quod *ἡγεμὼν*, V. L." Again, it is contained in 'Thesaurus Græc. Ling. à *Stephano*,' ex edit. *Valpy*, Lond. 1823; in which, at col. 4078. D. vol. v. it is thus entered.—"In VV. LL. est et *Ἡγεμονὸς Dux*." And this word possibly occurs in some ancient Greek Inscription.

London, May 26, 1855.

XV.—LETTER FROM CHARLES T. NEWTON, ESQ., TO W. MARTIN LEAKE, VICE-PRESIDENT, ON SOME INSCRIPTIONS AT MAVRODHILISSI, THE SITE OF THE AMPHIARAION.

(Read May 9th, 1855.)

Mytilene, April 5, 1855.

My Dear Sir,

When I communicated my memoir on the inscriptions at Mavrodhílissi to the Royal Society of Literature,[1] I was not aware that they had been published by M. Pittakys in the Athenian *Ἐφήμερις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ* a few months previously.[2]

My isolated position in a Turkish island, where I have few opportunities of seeing European periodicals, must be my excuse for this seeming inadvertence. Since I first copied the inscriptions at Mavrodhílissi in 1852, M. Pittakys has carefully examined the site of the Amphiaraion and the neighbouring villages. His search has been rewarded by the discovery of several fragments which contribute materially to the restoration and emendation of the inscriptions published in my memoir.

[1] See 'Transactions' of the Society, vol. v. p. 107.

[2] *Ἐφήμερις Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1853, Nos. 1310–24.

The first of these fragments which I have to notice is published in the Ephemeris thus:

.....ΔΕΤΟΥ ΑΜΦΙΑΡΑΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΙΔΗΜΟΥΤΟΥ
.....ΕΞΙΔΗΜΟΥΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ
ΑΝΔΡΑΣΣ.....
.....ΑΙΟΣ ΑΝΑΞΙΩΝΑΝΑΞΙΩ.....
ΓΑΙΔΑΣ Γ.....
.....ΡΑΙΟΣ ΝΙΚΩΝΝΙΚ.....
Α.....
ΣΑΤΥΡΟΣ.....

M. Pittakys discovered this fragment in a house at Calamo. He remarks, in publishing it, that it probably forms the heading of Inscription No. VI. of my memoir, which contains a list of Agonistic Victors.

In order to clear up this point I took advantage of my short stay at Athens last year to pay a second visit to the Amphiaraion, transporting with me from Calamo the fragment in question, in order to ascertain whether it could be adjusted to the slab No. VI. of my memoir. The result of this juxtaposition was most satisfactory. There can be no doubt that the fragment forms part of the heading of Inscription No. VI.

The inscription which I have printed above is surmounted by a cornice placed so immediately over line 1, as to make it clear that this is part of the commencing line of the whole inscription. In publishing the slab No. VI., I had proposed a restoration of the missing lines at the top, which is warranted by the analogy of similar inscriptions, and has been also adopted by M. Preller in his memoir on the Amphiaraion.[1]

[1] Oropos und das Amphiaraion von M. R. Preller Berichten der K. Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. 1852, pp. 140–188.

It is evident, however, on comparing the fragment with the slab, that my restoration must be abandoned. I would therefore propose the following, by which four new lines are added to the right-hand column.

[ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥΝΤΟΣΤΟΥΔΕΙΝΑΙΕΡΕΩ]ΣΔΕΤΟΥΑΜΦΙΑΡΑΟΥΑΛΕΞΙΔΗΜΟΥΤΟ[Υ]
ΑΛΕΞΙΔΗΜΟΥΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ[ΟΙΔΕΕΝΕΙΚΩΝ]
[ΣΑΛΠΙΣΤΗΣ] ΑΝΔΡΑΣ Σ[ΤΑΔΙΟΝ]
. . . . . ΑΙΟΣ ΑΝΑΞΙΩΝΑΝΑΞΙΟΝ[ΟΣ] . . . .
[ΚΗΡΥΞ] ΠΑΙΔΑΣ Π[ΕΝΤΑ]ΘΛΟΝ
ΡΑΙΟΣ ΝΙΚΩΝΝΙΚ[ΩΝΟΣ?] ΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ
[ΕΝΚΩΜΙΩΙΛΟΓΙΚΩΙ] Α[ΓΕΝ]ΕΙΟΥΣΠΕΝΤΑΘΛΟΝ
Ν ΩΡΩΠ[ΙΟΣ] ΣΑΤΥΡΟΣ . . . . . ΩΝΟΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ
ΕΝΚΩΜΙΩΙΕΠΙΚΩΙ [ΑΝ]ΔΡΑΣΠΕΝΤΑΘΛΟΝ

[*Ἀγωνοθετοῦντος τοῦ δεινα ἱερέω*]*ς δὲ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου Ἀλεξιδήμου το*[*υ*]
Ἀλεξιδήμου τοῦ Δημοφῶντος [*οἵδε ἐνείκων*]
[*Σ̓αλπιστής*] *Ἄνδρας σ*[*τάδιον*]
. . . . . *αἷος* *Ἀναξίων Ἀναξίωνος* . . . . .
[*Κήρυξ*] *Παίδας π*[*έντα*]*θλον*
. . . . . *ρᾶιος* *Νίκων Νίκωνος* *Θηβαῖος*
[*Ἐνκωμίῳι Λογικῷι*] *Ἀ*[*γεν*]*είους πένταθλον*
ν *Ὡρώπ*[*ιος*] *Σάτυρος* . . . . . *ωνος Θηβαῖος*
Ἐνκωμίῳ Ἐπικῷ [*Ἄν*]*δρας πένταθλον*

The whole inscription will now consist of 40 lines on the left, and of 39 on the right-hand column, a space equal to one line being left between lines 25 and 26[1] of this column, below the name of Nicias. The columns terminate on the same line at the bottom of the marble, and do not stand as they are printed in the Ephemeris.

On a careful re-examination of the upper edge of the left-hand column on the original slab, I discovered that in line 7[2] the letter **N** must be substituted for the previous reading **OI E**, and in like manner **ΩPΩΓ** for **ΩN**; these four latter letters doubtless formed the commencement of the word **ΩPΩΓIOΣ**. As the inscription now stands, it is evident that three Agonistic Victories occupying six lines must be supplied in the first column in the intervening space between the heading and line 9.

The list of Victors in this column we may suppose to have commenced with the *σαλπιστὴς*, followed by the *κήρυξ*: the third Agonistic contest may have been the *ἐγκώμιον λογικὸν*, as opposed to the *ἐγκώμιον ἐπικὸν*, line 9; or the list may have commenced with a *ποιητὴς προσοδίων*, as in the inscription, Boeckh, C. I. No. 1585.

From the fragment we obtain the name of a fourth priest of Amphiaraos, Alexidemus, the son of Alexidemus, in addition to the three whose names appear in the other Mavrodhílissi decrees.

On the right hand of the second column is a space equal to not more than six letters; I have therefore, in restoring the heading, inserted only the words **OIΔE**

[1] Lines 22 and 23 of the text in the Ephemeris.

[2] Line 1 of the text in the Ephemeris.

ΕΝΕΙΚΩΝ without adding the fuller form ΤΟΝ ΑΓΩΝΑ κ. τ. λ.

In line 36 of column 2, M. Pittakys reads ΣΩΚΛΕΟΥΣ where I read ΖΩΙΛΟΥ. There is no doubt that mine is the true reading.

The next inscription to which I have to refer is No. III. of my memoir, of which, as it stands in my text, the heading is imperfect and unintelligible.

The portion of the marble which I found had been broken into two pieces, half of the two decrees being on one fragment, the other half on the other. On one of these two fragments, in large characters, above the decrees are the letters

. . . . . ⁻ΗΝΕΡΜΟ
ΚΑΛ]ΛΙΓΕΙΤΩΝ
[Α]ΜΦΙΑΡΑΩΙ

On the other, ΓΥΘΩ

I had erroneously adjusted these two fragments so as to have the word ΓΥΘΩ on the right, by which mistake the two halves of the first decree are misplaced in my text.

M. Pittakys has discovered a third and smaller fragment, and has arranged the two larger pieces in their proper places, the word ΓΥΘΩ being on the left.

The third fragment, discovered by M. Pittakys, reads as follows:

ΦΙΛΟΝΑ
⁻ΕΝΟΥΚΑ
ΝΟ

By combining this with the other two fragments, M. Pittakys arranges the whole inscription thus:

In larger characters.

ΦΙΛΟΝΑΥΤΗΝΕΡΜΟ
ΓΕΝΟΥΚΑΛΛΙΓΕΙΤΩΝ
ΠΥΘΩΝΟΣΑΜΦΙΑΡΑΩΙ
[ΚΑ]ΛΛΙΓΕΙΤΩΝΑΡΙΣΤΑΝΔΡΟΥ[Ε]ΙΠΕΝΕΠΕΙΔΗΣΩΣΙΓΕΝΗΣΕΥΝΟΥΣ[ΩΝ]
[ΔΙ]ΑΤΕΛΕΙΤΗΙΠΟΛΕΙΩΡΩΠΙΩΝ[Δ]ΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΤΕΙΒΟΥΛΕΙΚΑΙΤΩΙΔΗΜΩΙ
ΣΩΣΙΓΕΝΗΝΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΝΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΝΕΙΝΑΙΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤ
ΗΝΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΩΡΩΠΙΩΝΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΝΚΑΙΕΚΓΟΝΟΥΣΚΑΙΕΙΝΑΙ
ΑΥΤΩΙΓΗΣΚΑΙΟΙΚΙΑΣΕΓΚΤΗΣΙΝΚΑΙΙΣΟΤΕΛΕΙΑΝΚΑΙΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝ
ΚΑΙΑΣΥΛΙΑΝΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΓΗΝΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΘΑΛΑΤΤΑΝΚΑΙΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΚΑΙΕΙΡΗ
ΝΗΣΚΑΙΤΑΑΛΛΑΠΑΝΤΑΟΣΑΠΕΡΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΑΛΛΟΙΣΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΙΣΚΑΙ
ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΙΣΓΕΓΡΑΠΤΑΙ

Φιλοναύτην Ἑρμο.
γένου καλλιγείτων
Πύθωνος Ἀμφιαράῳ
Κα]λλιγείτων Ἀριστάνδρου εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Σωσιγένης εὔνους [ὤν]
δι[ατελεῖ τῇ πόλει Ὠρωπίων, δέδοχθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
Σωσιγένην Διονυσίου Ἀθηναῖον πρόξενον εἶναι καὶ εὐεργέτ-
-ην τῆς πολεως Ὠρωπίων καὶ αὐτον καὶ ἐκγόνους καὶ εἶναι
αὐτῷ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν καὶ ἰσοτέλειαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν
καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρή-
-νης καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὅσαπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ
εὐεργέταις γέγραπται

The three lines at the top record, therefore, a dedication, doubtless by the same Calligeiton, the son of Python, who dedicated the altar, No. I. of my memoir.

The restoration of this inscription by M. Pittakys has enabled him to correct an error in which I have been followed by M. Preller. In the dedicatory Inscription No. I., M. Pittakys reads *Βοΐδιον φιλοναύτου*, not *φίλον αὐτοῦ*, as I had read it.

Inscription No. II. of my memoir should form the continuation of No. IV., from which it has been broken away, and of which it supplies the three concluding lines, *εἰρήνης καὶ τ' ἄλλα πάντα κ. τ. λ.* See Ephemeris, No. 1313. In the seventh line of No. II., MM. Pittakys and Preller read ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΥ, instead of my reading, ΕΥΦΡΟΝ[ΟΣ].

In lines 15 and 16 of the Inscription No. V., MM. Pittakys and Preller read *Θ[ερταλὸν ἀπὸ Μελιτεί]ας τῆς Φθιώτιδος*. As it may be doubted whether there is space for so many letters on the stone, I would suggest the name of another town in the Pthiotis, *Θ[ερταλὸν ἀπὸ Ξυνί[ας] τῆς Φθιώτιδος*.[1]

Among the inscriptions from Mavrodhílissi copied by MM. Pittakys and Preller, is one which I did not remark on my first visit, as the face of the cube on which it is inscribed was turned downwards, and I had not the means at hand to move it.

It is as follows:

[1] In my memoir I had read [Θήβ]ας, but this is inadmissible. The form of the genitive would be either Θηβῶν or Θήβης.

ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣΑΝΤΙΔΟΤΟΥΕΙΠΕΝΕΠΕΙΔΗ
ΗΔΥΛΟΣΕΥΝΟΥΣΩΝΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΙΚΑΙΤΩΝΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ
ΑΕΙΤΟΙΣΔΕΟΜΕΝΟΙΣΧΡΕΙΑΝΠΑΡΕΧΕΤΑΙΕΝΠΑΝ
ΤΙΚΑΙΡΩΙΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΤΕΙΒΟΥΛΕΙΚΑΙΤΩΙΔΗΜΩΙ
ΗΔΥΛΟΝΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΘΗΒΑΕΑΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΝΕΙΝΑΙΚΑΙ
ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΩΡΩΠΙΩΝΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΝΚΑΙ
ΕΚΓΟΝΟΥΣΚΑΙΕΙΝΑΙΑΥΤΟΙΣΓΗΣΚΑΙΟΙΚΙΑΣΕΝΚΤΗ
ΣΙΝΚΑΙΙΣΟΤΕΛΕΙΑΝΚΑΙΑΣΥΛΙΑΝΚΑΙΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝ
ΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΓΗΝΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΘΑΛΑΤΤΑΝΚΑΙΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ
ΟΝΤΟΣΚΑΙΕΙΡΗΝΗΣΚΑΙΤΑΛΛΑΠΑΝΤΑΥΠΑΡΧΕΙΝ
ΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΘΑΠΕΡΤΟΙΣΑΛΛΟΙΣΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΙΣΚΑΙ
ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΙΣ

Καλλίστρατος Ἀντιδότου εἶπεν. Ἐπειδὴ Ἥδυλος εὔνους ὢν διατελεῖ, καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀεὶ τοῖς δεομένοις χρείαν παρέχεται ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ· δεδόχθαι τεῖ Βουλεῖ καὶ τῷ Δήμῳ Ἥδυλον Ἐυπολέμου Θηβαεα πρόξενον εἶναι καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως Ὠρωπίων καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους, καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῖς γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔνκτησιν καὶ ἰσοτέλειαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ πολέμου ὄντος καὶ εἰρήνης, καὶ τ'ἄλλα πάντα ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ, κάθαπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις

M. Pittakys found also the fragment of a decree of *proxenia*, Ephemeris, No. 1321, and three other fragments, Nos. 1322–4, too small to admit of restoration. I am happy to be able to state that the attention of the Greek Government has at length been awakened on the subject of the Amphiaraion, and that immediately after my first visit to this most interesting spot, steps were taken to prevent the wanton destruction of the inscriptions still remaining. It is to be regretted that the modern Greeks, in their zeal for church building, should have so little regard for the monuments of ancient Hellas. It has been my

lot to witness during the last three years the most wanton destruction of inscriptions in the Turkish islands of the Archipelago. That destruction is carried on, not by Turks, but by that very race who profess the utmost veneration for the monuments of Hellenic times, and who, notwithstanding, are daily breaking up these relics as building materials.

I remain, &c. &c. &c.

C. T. NEWTON.

ON THE TOPOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF THE TAURIC CHERSONESE.

BY PATRICK MAC CHOMBAICH DE COLQUHOUN, LL.D., HON. LIBR. ROYAL SOC. LIT.

(*With a Map.*)

(Read April 18th, 1855.)

THE Tauric Chersonese possessed an historical and geographical interest in the mythic period, which it has maintained uninterruptedly from the age of fable down to the present time. It was the scene of most important events in the reign of Mithridates VII., king of Pontus, justly surnamed the Eupator, or the Illustrious, who withstood the whole force of Rome's best generals in the vigor of its power, with considerable success, during the long space of twenty-six years.

Its most interesting era was, however, that which is veiled in obscurity and fable; and it is a curious geographical fact, that the very locality of a great classic myth has again become all-important in the present political destinies of the world.

For the sake of facilitating the examination of this subject, it may be considered under four distinct divisions:—The general geography of the country according to Strabo, which can by its nature have undergone no material changes;—The particular topography

of the Lesser or Heracleot Chersonese;—of the Peninsula and kingdom of Bosporus; and—of general remarks on the history and fate of the Tauric Peninsula.

The Tauric Peninsula was subdivided by the ancients into that strictly called the Heracleot in contradistinction to the rest of the Tauric Chersonese, the whole of which is compared by ancient geographers, both as to its configuration and size, with the Hellenic Peloponnese.

The Heracleot was a very inconsiderable part of the Tauric Chersonese, comprising exactly the present positions of the allied French and English armies, or that rayon which is bordered by the sea to the south and west; by the sea and the Gulf of Sevastópol to the north; and by a line drawn from Balaclava to the head of the Bay of Sevastópol on the north-east. This triangle is not dissimilar in geographical form to the great theatre of the most famous and earliest of all recorded sieges, that of Troy, which was bounded by the Hellespont to the N.W., by the Archipelagos to the west, and by the mountains of Ida to the north and east. It is to be hoped that it may not be possible to carry the analogy further, and that the allied army of besiegers may not spend an equal time in reducing this modern Ilium. Indeed, the facts mainly differ in this, that in the case of Troy the Greeks were opposed to the allied forces of Asia, whereas the greatest Powers of Europe are here arrayed against those of the North.

The battles which have hitherto been fought on this classic ground resemble those of the Trojan and Greek heroes more than any recorded in the annals of war, excepting, indeed, perhaps some of the engagements

between the Crusaders and the Saracens in Palestine, where, however, the system of military tactics rendered possible those hand-to-hand engagements which are barely conceivable under the present system of warfare.

The great geographer Strabo (c. 7. 4) informs us that —"The isthmus which divides the lake called Sapra, or the Putrid, from the sea is 40 stadia, or about 5 English miles wide, and forms that properly termed the Tauric or Scythian Chersonese, which some assert to be 360 stadia, or 50 miles in width. The lake 'Sapra' is about 4000 stadia, or 500 English miles wide, and is westward of the Mæotis, which it joins in one great outlet. This lake is very marshy, and scarcely navigable even by sewn vessels,[1] since the wind easily uncovers the shallows and re-covers them, so that the swamp ought not to be attempted by larger vessels. This bay has three little islands in it, sandbanks and shoals below the surface."

"To the larboard of one sailing out there is situated a little town and another port appertaining to the Chersonesians."

The geographer then proceeds to describe the Heracleot Chersonese; but as this will find a more appropriate place in the part dedicated to a particular description of that subdivision, it is more convenient to pass over to the rest of the Peninsula.

Before the little lake and town just mentioned there lies a promontory much exposed on the seaboard and the south in the direction of Paphlagonia, and the city Amastris. This headland is called Criou

[1] ῥαπτοῖς πλοίοις, probably frames covered with hides, like the Welsh coracles "cwrwg," and "curach" of the Gaël.

Metopon (or the Ram's forehead). The Paphlagonian promontory of Carambis (Sinope), which divides the Eũxine sea, contracted at this point so as to form two gulfs, is situated over against it. Carambis is distant from the city of Cherson 2500 stades, or 312½ miles, and a much less distance from Criou Metopon, so that many who have sailed through this strait say that they have at once seen the promontories on either side.

"In the hilly district of the Taurians the mountain Trápezus is situated, bearing the same name as the city near Tibarenia and Colchis. There is, too, another Kimerian mountain in the same rocky district, to which the Kimerians, who formerly were potentates of the Bosporus, apply the same name, hence the whole of the strait which reaches to the mouth of Lake Mæotis is called the Kimeric Bosporus. Beyond the aforesaid rocky district lies the city Theodosia (Kaffa), with its fertile plain, and a port capable of sheltering as many as a hundred vessels: this was formerly the boundary of the land of the Bosporians and Taurians. Further on, the country is fertile up to Panticapæon, the capital of the Bosporians, situate at the mouth of Lake Mæotis; and the distance between Theodosia and Panticapæon (Kerch) is about 530 stades, or 66¼ miles. The whole country is laid down in corn, and has villages and a city with a good harbour called Nymphæon. The country of Panticapæon is situated on an eminence, inhabited around on all sides, in a ring-fence of 20 stades, or 2½ miles: towards the east it has a harbour and dockyards for 30 ships; it also possesses a citadel which was built by the Milesians. For a considerable time it was a monarchy under the

potentates set up by Leucon, Sagaurus, and Parisades, and included all the neighbouring villages around the mouth of Mæotis on both sides as late as the age of Parisades, who transferred the government to Mithridates. These rulers were called Tyrants, albeit most of them were moderate men enough, beginning with Parisades and Leucon: Parisades was even considered a god. The last sovereign of this name, however, not being able to hold out against the barbarians, who exacted a greater tribute than originally paid, abdicated in favor of Mithridates Eupator, and since his fall the kingdom has been subject to the Romans. The greater part of it is on the European, but some portion of it lies also on the Asiatic side. The mouth of the Mæotis is called the Kimerian Bosporus, and it begins with a breadth of about 70 stades, or 8¾ miles, where you embark at Panticapæon for the nearest city of Asia, Phanagoria, but again contracts into a much narrower strait; and this narrow passage affords an exit for the river Tanaïs (Don), which flows direct from the north to the lake, through it to its embouchure, and so forms the boundary line between Europe and Asia. This river debouches into the lake by two channels, distant from each other about 60 stades, or 7½ miles. At this point lies a city of the same name as the river, the largest mercantile place of the barbarians next after Panticapæon, and on the left, as you sail into the Kimerian Bosporus, is a little city, Myrmekion, within 20 stades, or 2½ miles, of Panticapæon; and double that distance from Myrmekion is the village Parthenion, where the entrance is most narrow, not exceeding 20 stades, or 2½ miles: opposite to it, in Asia, lies the village Achilleum. Thence

in a straight line to the Tanaïs and the island between its outlets is 2200 stades, or 275 miles; but if you sail along by Asia, it is somewhat further: if, on the other hand, you sail on the starboard as far as the Tanaïs, on the side on which the isthmus is situated, it is more than three times the distance. Now all this coast along the European shore is barren, but that on the right is not so. The total circumference of the lake is estimated at 9000 stades, or 1125 miles."

"This Great Chersonese much resembles the Peloponnese both in shape and in size; it is subject to the potentates of the Bosporus, now much reduced by continual wars. Formerly the Tyrants of the Bosporians held a little of it towards the mouth of Mæotis and the Panticapæan district towards Theodosia: the greater part, however, as far as the isthmus and the Carcinite gulf, was possessed by the Tauri, a Scythian race; thus all this territory and almost all the country without the isthmus up to the Borysthenes, or Volga, was called Scythia Minor; but by reason of the number of those, who from those parts passed over the Tyras and the Ister (Danube), and settled in the country, no inconsiderable portion of Thrace acquired the name of Scythia. The Thracians, too, partly by force and partly on account of the badness of the soil, (for the greater part of it is marsh land,) ceded it. The rest of the Chersonese, except the mountainous part by the sea as far as Theodosia, is all level and good land, and exceedingly productive of grain, for if the soil be turned by any agricultural instrument, it renders 30 per cent.; thus the inhabitants of this peninsula, including those of the

Asiatic districts about Sindiké, paid as tribute 18 myriads of bushels to Mithridates, and 200 talents of silver. In former times corn and salt-fish from the lake were exported hence to the Greeks; nay, it is even asserted that Leucon sent from Theodosia 2,100,000 bushels of wheat to the Athenians. The natives were specially called Georgii (husbandmen), distinctively from those who live higher up, who were termed Nomads, living on animal food, especially horseflesh, on mare-milk, cheese, milk and yaoort[1] (which is a delicacy prepared by them in some manner of which I am ignorant); wherefore "the poet" (Homer) has designated all the folk in those parts as milk-eaters. The Nomads are rather warriors than freebooters, waging war on account of their rents. For having intrusted their land to those who are willing to cultivate it, they delight in receiving for it the appointed rent, something moderate, not allowing of luxury, but sufficient for daily support and the necessaries of life; and when the tenants refuse to render it, they make war on them. Hence "the poet" has called these men just, and without a livelihood at the same time, since if their rent were well and truly paid, they would never take hostile proceedings against their tenants.[2] They refuse, however, to pay their rent, whenever they think their strength sufficient to repulse those by whom they may be attacked, or obstruct their entry, as Hypikrates says that Asandros did by building a wall across the isthmus of the

[1] I have translated the word ὀξύγαλα by the Tatar word of like import; ὀξύγαλα is still used as its equivalent; it is made by placing the milk over the fire in crocks, and solidifying it by leaven.

[2] These must have been worse than Tipperary estates.

Chersonese (Perekop), in the neighbourhood of the Mæotis, 360 stades or 45 miles in length, fortified with towers, 10 to every stade, and therefore 22 feet apart. The farmers on this side are considered to be both less savage and more civilized; occupying themselves with commerce and navigation, they do not, however, abstain from piracy or the crimes and avarice of persons engaged in that occupation."

"In enumerating the places in the Chersonese, we must not omit the fortresses which Skilourus and his descendants armed, and some of which were also used as fortresses against the generals of Mithridates, viz. Palakion, Chauon, and Neapolis: there is also Eupatorion, built by Diophantes, one of the generals of Mithridates." * * * * *

It is peculiar of all the Scythian and Sarmatian race, that they castrate horses in order to render them tractable, for though they are small, they are very swift and difficult to break in.

There are some curious facts mentioned by Strabo relative to the zoology of this country: that relating to the "kolos" may be worthy of the attention of naturalists, who may be able to decide whether there be any of the antelope species which possess the physical qualities of the camel in respect of its power of retaining a supply of water in the stomach.

"There is game in the jungle, both deer and wild boars, and on the plains wild asses and gazelles; it is, too, a remarkable fact that the eagle is not to be met with in these parts. There is a quadruped called a 'kolos,' in size between a deer and a goat, in colour white, but fleeter than either, drinking through its nostrils through its head, into a sort of reservoir, and,

husbanding its draught for many days, having thus drunk, it is easily able to exist in places destitute of water."

The foregoing remarks of Strabo apply to the whole of the Tauric Chersonese, and it would require a treatise exceeding by far the limits of an ordinary Paper to restore to modern localities their ancient nomenclature. The following remarks will therefore be confined to the topography of that portion to which a more special present interest attaches, and conclude with a general resumé of the history of the Tauric Peninsula.

The most important authors who mention the Crimea, a terminology strangely corrupted from Kimeria, although it is alluded to more or less directly by a mass of writers in all ages, are—Herodotus, B. C. 469; Scymnus of Scio, B. C. 100; Strabo, A. D. 29; Arrian, A. D. 110; Ptolemy, A. D. 211; Procopius, A. D. 550, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

The places which have most frequently come under our notice latterly are the three small harbours of Sevastópolis,—Balaclava, Kamiesch, and Kazatch, occupied by the French; the city of Eupatoria, Simpherópol, Bagdscha Serai, (the old capital of Crim Tartary,) the rivers of Alma, Katcha, Belbek or Kabarta, the Chernaya, and the Isthmus of Perekop.

The Heracleot Chersonese has become within the last year a place of such European interest as the arena of a great struggle for the mastery of Eastern Europe, that some new remarks confined to this subdivision of the great Tauric Peninsula cannot fail of interest. It will be seen that the principal seat of the present siege operations, the Heracleot Chersonese,

so called from a city there built in honour of Hercules, has not only been frequently the scene of similar conflicts, but also of some of the most interesting myths of antiquity. The former fact is ascribable to its geographical position and its favourable situation as a stronghold and basis of military operations. Defended by and open to access by sea on three sides, and easily rendered capable of defence on the fourth, no place could be better chosen for such purposes; indeed it seems impossible for any power to maintain tranquil possession of the whole peninsula so long as this angle of it is in the power of an enemy; those, therefore, are mistaken who suppose that its occupation was an error in tactics on the part of the Allies, notwithstanding that the occupation of the opposite shore of the Gulf of Sevastópol may be necessary to the maintaining it according to the system of modern warfare.

The first mention of this part of the great Peninsula is to be met with in the Odyssee of Homer,[1] and in the legends immediately connected with, and occurrences succeeding, the subject of his poems.

After Ulysses escapes from the clutches of the Cyclopes, he is taken by the poet into the Euxine. It has been generally supposed that the country of the Cyclopes was in the neighbourhood of Sicily. He is then driven by the winds released from the bag given him by Æolus in an exactly contrary direction, which may account for his appearance in the Euxine, though we do not find him passing the Thracian Bosporus; and it is still a matter of controversy whether the scene of the wanderings of Ulysses was the Mediter-

[1] Odyssee, X. 80.

ranean or the Euxine. The best solution of the difficulty probably is, that in collecting the poems of the bard, they were, through the geographical ignorance of the collators, badly matched or sewn together, as the word ῥαψῳδία implies, and that some part has been lost which showed his passage from the Mediterranean to the Euxine Sea. First of all then, in point of date, Homer gives the following description of Balaclava so accurately that no other place can have been intended. "We sailed six days and nights, and on the seventh we arrived at the lofty city of Lamos, the extensive Læstrygonia, where a shepherd returning hails the shepherd who greets him as he goes out. There a man who should be able to do without sleeping would receive double wages, one wage for feeding herds, and the other wage for pasturing white sheep, for the duration of day and night is nearly equal." [1]

This remark of Homer of the equality of night and day cannot apply to any place in the latitude of the Tauric Chersonese, although the difference between the length of the night and of the day is, as the poet here states, certainly "near."

"We arrive at the famed Port surrounded by high rocks, the shores contracting the inlet, which is narrow, within which the inhabitants keep their galleys. They are moored near to each other within the landlocked harbour, within which never so slight a ripple is raised, and a blank calm is seen on all sides: I alone kept my vessel outside at the entrance, making it fast to the rock with hawsers."

[1] I do not see the difficulty asserted to exist in this passage; the herds were driven out at night and the flocks home, and the same man could of course not attend to both, save he could do without sleep.

"I then climbed the rugged promontory to take a recognizance, but could see no signs either of oxen or of human beings, but merely the smoke rushing out of the earth. I therefore detatched two of my shipmates to go forth and inquire what sort of human creatures there were there, associating a herald with them. They disembarked, following the plain roadway, whereby the wood is conveyed from the mountains in waggons. Outside the city they fell in with the gigantic daughter of the Læstrygonian Antipates, who happened to be down at the fair-flowing fountain Artacia, whence water was conveyed to the city. Drawing near, they addressed her, and inquired the name of the king and of the people over whom he reigned, whereupon she pointed to the towering roof of her father's house; and on their entering into the palace they found the queen as tall as a mountain crag, which caused them to shudder. She forthwith summoned the illustrious Antipates, her husband, from the forum, who, however, prepared dire destruction for them, for straightway seizing one of my crew, he prepared him for his meal; the other two, however, took to flight, and arrived in safety at the vessels. He, on his part, raised a hue and cry throughout the city, which brought out the powerful Læstrygonians, who came rushing down one after another, not like men, but like giants, hurling huge stones from the rocks, so that the mournful sound of men perishing and of ships crushed was heard. Spearing the former like fish, they bore them off, a sad feast."

"Whilst this destruction of those in the bay was going on, I drew my sword from my side and severed

the hawsers of the vessel, and hastily arousing my crew, gave the order to pull seawards to escape from the danger; thereupon my ship glibly fled the lofty rocks out to sea, but the others perished there altogether."

"With heartfelt sorrow we sailed thence, rejoicing at our escape from death, although we had lost our beloved shipmates."

So accurate a description as this, agreeing so exactly with the report of modern travellers, leaves no doubt of the identity of Balaclava with the ancient Symbolon. The western so overlaps the eastern promontory, that the harbour is not visible from a vessel till it has approached very near the inlet, and it is not until a considerable advance has been effected into the bay that the village of Balaclava is perceptible. The head of the bay is shallow at the point at which Homer places the fountain of Artacia, at which Ulysses' scouts meet with the king's daughter.

If Homer did not relate truths, he was at all events a happy fabler; for not only is this the character universally given by the ancients to these pirates or vikings, but the account is confirmed by Strabo, who tells us that they attacked all who ventured on their territories.

Palakion probably occupied the site of the late Genoese fortress of Balaclava;[1] nay, some insist on the derivation of this latter word from the ancient denomination; nor is it impossible that the Genoese, taking it as a foundation, assimilated it to their own language, since *bella chiava* would scarcely convey

[1] If so, the word is properly accentuated Balâclava.

any appropriate meaning. That the word Symbolon is descriptive of the place can hardly be doubted, and is justified by the expression of Homer, that the rocks advance as though to embrace each other, *σύν-βάλλω*.

Strabo describes the fortification of the Heracleot Chersonese by Diophantes, by saying, "that at a distance of about 15 stadia, or nearly 2 miles, from the city of the Chersonesians, the advance of a promontory forms a deep bay towards the city, and above this is situated a salt lake, where salt is made, forming a bay (Sevastópol), which is in fact Ktenôus. In order, then, that the king's forces beleaguered there might be enabled to hold these places, they fortified this angle of land by forming an agger and vallum, placed a garrison there, and connecting the head of the bay with the city by filling it up, thus rendered communication on foot easy, and united the city so as to form but one town, by which means they had not much difficulty in keeping the Scythians at bay; so that when they made an attack upon that part of the isthmus which had been fortified near Ktenôus, and filled up the ditch with reeds, the king's troops burned during the night the part which had been so filled up during the day, and held it until they prevailed." Strabo then tells us "that in his time all these places were governed by the Bosporians under Roman suzerainty."

We now pass to the Temple called of the virgin goddess. The history of Iphigenia is present to the mind of every classical scholar, and is one of the sources of many beautiful poems in classic literature. Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, was doomed by the revengeful priest Chalcas to

be sacrificed to appease the goddess Diana, who caused the Greek fleet to be detained at Aulis by contrary winds. It is fabled that Agamemnon had slain her favourite stag: what allegory may be hidden under this myth may be easily imagined. After much discussion in the camp, Iphigenia was sent for under the pretence of being married to Achilles. On her arrival at Aulis, however, she was suddenly saved from sacrifice by the substitution of a white doe by the repentant Diana, who carried her to Tauris, and constituted her priestess there. So far I pay homage to the sacred myth, but take the liberty of explaining the subsequent circumstances. It is said that, by the command of the goddess, she was required to sacrifice all strangers who fell upon that inhospitable shore. It however appears that this part of the Chersonese was inhabited by a nest of pirates, who plundered and murdered all comers.

The worship of a virgin (for it is by no means clear that it was the Artemis of the Greeks) appears to have formed the basis of the local religion, and that human sacrifices were offered at her shrine, being probably a species of tithe on the piratical booty of slaves.

The Oracle of Delphi commands Orestes to purge himself of the murder of his mother by bringing the statue of Diana from the Tauric Chersonese into Greece; and he sets out for this purpose accompanied by his cousin Pylades. Iphigenia, willing to spare at least one of her countrymen in order to secure a trusty messenger to convey news of her retreat to her friends in Argos, obtains leave of the ruler of the country to allow one to carry her letters to Greece: this is granted by the king Thoas, and the memorable con-

tention of self-devotion to the sacred ties of friendship which has passed into a proverb, and has been adopted by Virgil in the character of Achates, arises between the two friends, during which Iphigenia becomes aware of her relationship by the letter being addressed to Orestes himself. The object of their mission is revealed, and she contrives to escape with them, carrying off the required statue concealed in a bundle of fagots.[1]

The real story probably is (*parce precor*) that Iphigenia was carried off by the Tauric pirates, and may have become priestess of Diana or the corresponding virgin goddess of the Taurians, with whom she had escaped by the complicity of Agamemnon and Achilles, and that her distinguished birth, and the circumstances of her arrival conferred upon her a sort of sacred character, her security being purchased by the wealth and alliance of Agamemnon; for it is clear Orestes must have had some clue to her place of abode, and therefore went with Pylades to recover her, and succeeded in the enterprise by collusion with the priestess.

The situation of this temple has been a matter of dispute; but if we examine the evidence of the accurate Strabo and of former and subsequent authors, we cannot doubt that it was situated near the monastery of St. George, on the Parthenic promontory, on the south coast, about midway between the harbour Sym-

[1] There appeared to be a great love of statues of the Virgin in those days as well as at present. Thus our Mariolatry is the mere successor of the more ancient Parthenolatry. The example of the statue of Pallas in Troy suggests itself to the mind at once as a parallel. In many ruined temples in Greece, formerly dedicated to Athenæ, a lamp may be found burning in a nook before a picture of the Virgin. It appears, too, that they winked.

bolon or Balaclava and Cape Fanari. The distance of 100 stadia, or about twelve miles, given by Strabo, will perfectly identify this promontory, of which we have the following description by the geographer.

"To the south there is a large promontory upon which the city of the Heracleotes is situated, colonized by the inhabitants of Pontus. This is called Chersonese, distant a voyage of 4400 stadia, 555½ miles, from Tyre. In it is the temple of a certain virgin goddess (Diana), whence the promontory, 100 stadia, 12½ miles, beyond the city, is called Parthenium, possessing a temple and statue of this goddess. Between the city and promontory there are three harbours, viz., of the old ruined Chersonesus, and after it a harbour with a narrow entrance called the Symbolon, to which the Taurians, a Scythian people given to piracy, take refuge from those by whom they may be chased. The isthmus of 40 stadia, or 5 miles between this and the other harbour, Ktenous, is called the isthmus of the Little Chersonese, already shown to be a part of the Great Chersonese, having upon it a city of the same name, Chersoneson."

[1] On the Heracleot colony first settling, in the third year of the 30th Olympiad 658 years before the Christian era, among the wild and barbarous inhabitants of the Great Tauric Chersonese, they sought out a secure spot at its most remote western extremity, between the westernmost and second gulph of the triple bay,

[1] Olym. 30, an. 3, 658 B. C.

Of Heraclea, a famous town, situated on the Pontus Euxinus, allied with Byzantium.—Strabo says that it was founded by the Milesians, Eusthathius ad Dion. 787., Xen. An. 6, 220.; Steph. Byz. and Diod. 14, 413, by the Megareans; Arr. et Perip. 8, by the same. Pausanias says the Tanagreians of Bœotia were associated with them,

and by fortifying it on either side by a wall, placed themselves in comparative security.

It has been asserted that this was a colony of Milesians: such, indeed, is the opinion of Strabo, but other authors suppose the colony to have come from Megara, while others hold opinions differing from both: thus Pausanias says, that the colonists consisted of Tanagreians of Bœotia, associated with Megarians, and hence the abbreviation of Tragus applied to Bœotia. Stephanus Byzantinus pretends that one Pacælus, of Bœotia, founded this colony; a detachment of Heracleots may, however, have been the founders of it. In any case it produced many offsets.[1]

From the period at which the Hellenic colony transferred the seat of the city from modern Kamiesch to the locality of the present Sevastópol, the city rose rapidly in commercial and political importance, and ultimately attained the rank of a civitas fœderata of Rome.

We are indebted to the researches of our honorary member, Dr. George Finlay, for a most concise and interesting history of the ancient Greek colony and free municipality of Cherson, given in his history of the Byzantine Empire.[2]

hence the abbreviation of Tragus Pompeus attached to Bœotia; Steph. Byz. pretends by one Pacælus of Bœotia, of whom the Heracleots formed, perhaps, a detachment.

[1] Heraclea produced many colonies—Steph. Byz., on the faith of Dom. Callistratus, calls it Arceroepa, or Col. Her. (Calfates) and Chersonese and Arrian, Callantra. Chersonese. Col. Her., in which the Delians took part. Pliny (says also called Megarice?) Heraclus. Eusth. ad Dion. 787. Xen. Anab. 6. 220. Steph. Diod. 14. 413. Arrian Perip. 8. Steph. Byz.

[2] Vol. 1, p. 415.

"Placed on the verge of civilisation," he remarks, "it escaped for the long period of 1000 years the demoralisation into which the Hellenic race had fallen under the system of Roman centralisation.

"Under Diocletian, Themistos being president of Cherson, Sauromates, king of Bosporus, ravaged the eastern side of the Euxine, till checked by Constantine Chlorus at the river Halys. Cherson, as a federate city of the Roman empire, was not in position to refuse to make a diversion, and Chrestos, the then president, accordingly attacked and took Bosporus, but used his victory so politically as to conciliate at once his enemy and suzerain, who granted the city of Cherson extended privileges throughout the Roman empire. Towards the latter end of the reign of Constantine the Great, 332, he required the Chersonites, under Diogenes, to attack the Goths, and supplied them with warlike machines and pay for the artillerymen to work them, which continued till the 10th century. In reward for their having followed and defeated the Goths with great slaughter beyond the Danube, he sent them a golden statue of himself in imperial robes.

"After a lapse of many years Sauromates, the grandson of Diocletian's enemy, declared war against Cherson, but was defeated by the President Vyskos, who stipulated that Kaffa should be the future boundary of the Chersonite territory."

Under the Presidency of Pharnakes another Sauromates attempted to regain possession of Kaffa, but the war was brought to an abrupt termination by the death of the gigantic king of Bosporus, the last of the Sauromatian dynasty, by Pharnakes, in single combat; after which the kingdom allied itself with Cherson,

and erected a statue to Pharnakes, but after a lapse of years elected Assander king, and proposed a matrimonial alliance between his son and Gycia, the only daughter of the Chersonese President, Lamachos. This circumstance gave rise to one of the most romantic incidents of ancient history. To wean Assander from all aspiration to royalty it had been stipulated that he should never revisit Bosporus; he, however, secretly conspired with his connections, in order to render himself tyrant of Cherson.[1] The plot being discovered to Gycia by a female slave, confined for punishment over the warehouse in which the armed men brought from Bosporus were concealed, Gycia, having taken counsel with the senate, secretly locked the conspirators and armed men up in her palace on the vigil of the anniversary of her father's death, and set fire to the building in the dead of night. Thus was this dangerous plot annihilated at one blow, and every trace of this dangerous conspiracy obliterated.

The senate, to testify the gratitude of Cherson, erected two brazen statues to her memory, the one, a faithful representation of her, was placed in the agora, the other, an armed symbolical figure, as defender of the city. The senate also conceded her the exceptional privilege of extramural sepulture, for which she stipulated. Some years later, under President Stratophelos, doubting the endurance of popular gratitude, she feigned to be dead, but on passing the city walls rose up on the bier and upbraided them for their bad faith. The promise was ultimately performed.

"Theophilus compelled Cherson to receive an impe-

[1] Not the Kherson erroneously so named on the Russian continent N. W. of the Peninsula.

rial governor, whence the dawn of its decay may be dated; it nevertheless proudly upheld its former independence for a considerable period, neither soliciting imperial favour, nor adopting Byzantine manners, but boasting of its free institutions." It, however, gradually, but ultimately, lost its former wealth and exclusive trade, and when Vladamir, the sovereign of Russia attacked it in 988, it yielded almost without a struggle.

Strabo gives the following account of its later history:—

"This city was formerly independent, but, being sacked by the barbarians, was obliged to place itself under the protection of Mithridates, the patron, who was not unwilling to commence a campaign against the barbarians beyond the isthmus to the Boristhenes and Adrion, as a preparation against the Romans. He then with such hopes was glad to send an expedition to the Chersonese, and at the same time to levy war against the Scythians and Skilurus, and those of the clan Skiluri dwelling around Palakon, whom Poseidonius estimates at 50, but Apollonides at 80; and at the same time that he subdued these by force, he became master of the Bosporus, having received it from Parisades, the holder, who resigned it voluntarily. Now from that time the city of the Chersonesites has been subject to the governors of the Bosporus up to the present time. But the plain of Ktenous reaches along the city of the Chersonesites and the harbour of Symbolon. Beyond this harbour of Symbolon, as far as the city of Theodosia, the Tauric strand, for about 1000 stades or 125 miles in length, is rugged, rocky, and subject to violent storms from the north."

Of the identity of the other four harbours there can be no doubt, as Strabo mentions them in sequence as between Symbolon and Ktenous, the Triple Bay, the Bay of the Archers, and the Sosa. The Eupatoria of the present day is not identical with that of antiquity. That city was built by Diophantes, who had at that period the command of the country under Mithridates. This general, in order to keep back the Taurians, and secure free ingress and egress to and from the Little Chersonese, conceived the idea of fortifying the high promontory at the bottom of the bay of Ktenous, now Sevastópol, and which will become historical under the name of Inkermann. Here the Taurians had even at that early period constructed the crypts or caves we now find there, and the more ancient of which certainly date from that period. This idea of the Taurians was improved upon at a later period by the Byzantine inhabitants, who constructed, among other things, a splendid rock chapel in their vicinity.

On the table-land of this rock Diophantes built the city and fortress, naming it Eupatorion, after his master Mithridates. From this a line of fortification was continued up to Symbolon, in the shape of agger and vallum, inside which there was formed a good and solid causeway, leading from the head of the Gulf of Ktenous to Symbolon. By these means the Little or Heracleot Chersonese was entirely separated from the rest of the country, and the town of Cherson placed in comparative safety from barbarian incursion.

The Tauro-Scythians, however, having beleaguered the place and made themselves masters of the great wall, filled the trench which separated them from the road with fagots, in order to form a bridge to pass to

the causeway. Mithridates'[1] soldiers set fire to these during the night, and thus continued to defend themselves until their king had subjugated the Skilouri and Tauric Scythians.

The erroneous statement of Ptolemy, and possibly a corruption of the text of Strabo which presents difficulties in this passage, have induced the impression on the Russians that the site of the present Kozlov, to which they have consequently given the name Eupatoria, was the original position of that city.

This dyke is said still to exist; the termination of it forms indeed the bridge of Inkermann. If this be so, and if the position asserted by travellers and laid down in the best maps be correct, it is clear that the sea must have retired considerably since the age of Strabo.[2]

It is a curious fact, that the present is probably not the first time that the English language, or whatever dialect the inhabitants of England Proper spoke at that time, which was probably a mixture of Anglo-Saxon and Danish, has been heard in the Heracleot Chersonese, for Busbequius, in his history, written during the period he was accredited at the Sublime Porte, mentions the presence of the Varangian Guard in this locality.

The Varangian Guard consisted originally of natives of Kief or Russians,[3] and retained that denomination, as the Zouaves have in the present day, although now composed of French subjects, with a strong admixture

[1] *Vide* p. 14. *l. c.*

[2] Cæsar informs us that this sea becomes gradually shallower. The decrease between 1664 and 1808 was 6 feet, and 1 foot in the latter 17 years.

[3] Finlay. Byz. Emp. Vol. I. p. 402, *et seq.*

of all nationalities, except of the natives of the localities whence the corps derives its name.

The Varangians, according to Finlay, first appeared in 865, and were the same rude warriors who infested England and France, but who were at that period in a more advanced state of civilisation than the inhabitants of Gaul and Britain, who were serfs, while the Varangians were free men.

In 907, attracted by the wealth developed by the Byzantine commerce with Kief, they made a piratical descent upon Constantinople, nor is it clear how they were induced to return.

In 902, A.D., 700 of these Varangians are mentioned as serving on board the Byzantine fleet, with high pay; and in 912, under Basil I., the first commercial treaty was concluded with them, in consequence of which many Russian traders settled in the capital. In 935 seven Russian vessels, with 415 men, formed part of a Byzantine expedition to Italy.

In 941, Igor (who was murdered by his subjects for his cruelty 4 years later) attacked Constantinople, but was defeated by land and sea with great slaughter, and a treaty of peace was concluded between the belligerents in 945.

In 949, six Russian vessels, with 629 men, were engaged in the unsuccessful expedition of Gongyles against Crete. In 957, the baptism of Alga, Igor's widow, took place at Constantinople, and is described by Constantine Porphorogenitus. At this period the court of Kief evidently held a position of importance, hardly second to that of France, with reference to the Byzantine empire.

In 966 a corps of Russians accompanied the unfor-

tunate expedition of Niketâs to Sicily, whence Finlay implies, with reason, that like the Danes and Northmen of the west, they were not native Russians, but a Scandinavian race conversant with maritime affairs.

From this time the Varangians appear to have become close allies of the Byzantine Empire, if, indeed, they were not so much pressed by their neighbours as to have fallen into a state nearly resembling vassalage; for, in 1028, the imperial body guard was formed of Varangians, consisting first of Scandinavians and Russians, afterwards recruited by Danes and English, probably driven from their country by Norman oppression, which is strong evidence of the origin of the Varangian race. The captain of this guard was styled the μέγας ἑταιρειάρχης; Cedrenus[1] even gives his name Akoulothos, and from this time they appear to have formed the most faithful and respectable troops of the Byzantine Empire, for one of their body having offered violence to a peasant girl while the corps was in winter quarters in the Thrakesian Theme, she stabbed him with his own sword and was put into possession of his property by his comrades, and his body exposed without burial as that of a suicide.[2] The next we hear of the Varangians is in 1118,[3] in the war between Robert Guiscard and Alexius, where Norman met Norman at the battle of Dyrrachium, where the Varangians, unsupported, were obliged to retreat, and both appear to have been cavalry, the Varangians having dismounted to lead the van. The last we hear of them is in 1203, when the English and Danish guard, with their battle axes, repulsed the crusaders on the 17th July from the

[1] Page 735. *Vide et* Finlay, *l. c.* p. 460.
[2] *l. c.* 483. [3] Finlay, Vol. II. p. 95.

breach they had made in the walls, when the city might have been saved by them had it not been from the apathy or cowardice of Alexius III., in not putting himself, as he was urged to do, at their head to attack the disordered Franks.

Next to the Heracleot Chersonese that of Kerch possesses as great an interest for the classical antiquary as for the modern politician. During 820 years it was the site of an independent kingdom, on one of the most renowned spots of the world, as at that time known, the Kimerian Bosporus. It was the spot where Cæsar penned the dispatch, far more laconic and to the purpose than that of our present military meteorological observations.

The kingdom of the Bosporus included both shores of the strait, and the towns of Parthenium, Myrmekion, Panticapæum, now Kerch, Nymphæon, and Akra on the western, and Achelleum and Phanogoria on the eastern shore.

The city of Panticapæum has been differently designated at various periods, and by the various nations which have occupied it. In 1281 it was termed Cerco, Bospro, Vospro, Vosporos, Pandico, and Aspromonte. When, however, the Turks took possession of it in 1746, they named it Gherset or Ghershet, possibly a corruption of Chersonese. In 1771 the Russians having occupied it, corrupted the word into Kerch or Kertché, which it has since retained.

The peninsula of Kerch was separated from the Tauric Chersonese, and defended by an Agger and Vallum, extending from the Kaffa to Arabat, in the same way as the Heracleot on the south-western extremity of the great peninsula, which has been

already described. This, with part of the opposite shore, formed the ancient kingdom of Bosporus,[1] founded about 485 years B.C. by Archæanax, from whom it passed into the hands of the Thracian, Spartocus, whose descendants held it until 115 B.C., when Mithridates VII., surnamed the Eupator, then king of Pontus, obtained the cession of it from the descendant of Spartocus Paerisades IV., who was no longer in a position to maintain his ground against the neighbouring barbarians.

We must, however, now take a retrospect of the ancient history of Bosporus, in doing which, and in tracing the sequence of the kings of the Bosporus, the numismatic work of Sabatier has been followed. Bosporus, then, was founded 485 B.C., by ARCHÆANAX, who was succeeded by PAERISADES I., LEUCO I., and SAGAURUS, who reigned from 480—458 B.C., a period of 42 years.

SPARTOCUS I.	from . .	438—432
SELEUCUS	,, . .	432—429
SPARTOCUS II.	,, . .	429—407
SATYRUS I.	,, . .	407—393.

This sovereign was a firm ally of the Athenians, and father of his successor, Leuco II., who reigned from 393—353, and conquered Theodosia. SPARTOCUS III., his eldest son, reigned from 353—348, and PAERISADES II., his second son, from 341—311. SATYRUS II., son of the last, from 311—310, was mortally wounded in besieging his brother Eumelus in a port near Theodosia: PRYTANUS, his younger brother, from 310—309.

[1] Ancient authors, among whom are Herodotus, Diodorus, Siculus, Strabo, and Stephanus Byzantinus, invariably wrote this word with a simple Π, the aspirated form, Φ, is of a later introduction.

EUMELUS, the third brother, from 309—304, having massacred the wives and children of his brothers, he was killed by the wheels of his own chariot, the horses of which had run away. SPARTOCUS IV., his son, from 304—289. This monarch was succeeded by LEUCANOR EUBEOLUS, a natural brother of the last named. But neither to these nor to SPARTOCUS V., PARRISADES III., his son SPARTOCUS V., PARRISADES III., his son, SPARTOCUS VI., nor to LEUCO II., brother of the last named, can any exact dates be attributed, it being simply known that they filled up the interval between SPARTOCUS IV. and PARRISADES IV., who reigned from 108—115, B.C., and which last then ceded his kingdom to MITHRIDATES VII., the length and various success of whose struggles with Rome, already alluded to, and form one of the prominent events of classical history, came to an end with his life, B.C. 63. PHARNACES, his son, was rewarded for the cowardly betrayal of his father, by the kingdom of Bosporus; nay, in order to engratiate himself with Pompey, he even sent him his father's body, with a petition for the crown of the Pontus and Bosporus: the senate, however, only granted him the latter, and that, too, with the exception of Phanagoria, which was erected into a free city.

Excited, however, by ambition he endeavoured to obtain by force that which had been denied to his treason. In an attempt to recover Pontus he was vanquished at Zela, the same spot at which his father had routed a Roman army 30 years before his defeat; which was attended with so little trouble to Cæsar, as to suggest the laconic and now proverbial despatch, *veni, vidi, vici,* as applicable to the late capture of it as

it was 19 centuries ago. Pharnaces was ultimately slain, B.C. 39, in attempting to re-enter Bosporus, then in a state of revolution.

ASANDER, one of Pharnace's generals, who had married his daughter Dynamis, having revolted and rendered himself independent, governed under the assumed title of Archon, from B.C. 47 to 40. Having repulsed Mithridates of Pergamus, to whom Rome had granted Bosporus, he assumed, by the authority of Marc Antony, and subsequently obtained from Augustus, the confirmation of the royal title, under which he governed 29 years, from B.C. 39—11. At his death, at the age of 97, Scribonius sent by Rome to command the troops, married Dynamis, the widow of the deceased sovereign and assumed the sovereignty, but the imposture being discovered he was put to death by the inhabitants.[1]

POLEMO I., son of the rhetorician Zenon, of Laodicea, having, B.C. 37, been invested with the kingdom of Cilicia and a portion of Pontus, obtained the addition of Bosporus on the death of Asander, and was confirmed by Augustus. He was the third husband of Dynamis, whence it appears how strong an attachment there must have been to hereditary right, and to how great an extent its claims were admitted. He reigned from 11 to 1 B.C. By these means an entirely new race of sovereigns now governed the kingdom of the Bosporus, utterly unconnected with the former dynasty. POLEMO II., son of the last king by Pythodoris, by the daughter of a rich citizen of Tralles, succeeded his father; his brother Zenon, afterwards Artaxias, be-

[1] Sabatier, Souvenirs de Kertsch et Chronologie de Royaume de Bosphore, p. 49.

came king of Armenia; and his sister married Cotys V., king of Thrace. Polemo II. was succeeded by Sauromates I., who reigned from 7—13, A.D.[1]

Rhescuporis I., the next sovereign, appears to have reigned but a single year, and to have been followed by Sauromates II., who reigned from A.D. 14—17. No more is known, but that he was the son of the last monarch.

Rhescuporis II., the next king, occupied the throne from A.D. 17—38.

Polemo II., son of Polemo I., succeeded him, B.C., 38. He was invested with the kingdoms of the Bosporus and Pontus by Caligula, and obtained from Claudius permission to exchange them for Cilicia. He married the Jewess Berenice, daughter of king Agrippa, of Judea, but, on her deserting him, he revenged himself on her religion, which he deserted in like manner.

Mithridates I.[2] obtained the crown of Bosporus from Claudius, A.D. 42, but was dethroned in 49 by the imperial government, who replaced him by his brother Cotys I. He took up his domicile at Rome, where he was ultimately executed under Galba, as compromised in the conspiracy of Nymphedius.

In A D. 49 Cotys I. received the kingdom of the Bosporus, which he governed till 69, cotemporaneously with Claudius, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and from this date to 81, a period of 11 years, when Rhescuporis III. mounted the throne, no sovereign can be assigned; nor from 85 to 94, a period of 8 years, when Sauromates III.,[3] who reigned till 128, ascended the throne. From A.D. 130—132, we find Cotys II., king

[1] Sab: l. c. 52. [2] Tac. An. 12, § 18—21. Dion. Hal. 10, § 8.
[3] Plin. jun. l. 10, ep. 13, 14, 15.

of Bosporus. He was succeeded by RHOEMETACLES, father of Sauromates IV.[1] who reigned till 154.

EUPATOR I.[2] possessed the kingdom from 151—171, A.D. During the reign of his predecessor he had made many futile attempts to obtain possession of the throne, and on the death of Rhoemetacles succeeded, with the consent of Antoninus, to the prejudice of the direct and legitimate son and heir of the last king.

Here the three years to 175 remain unaccounted for by the numismatical series, when SAUROMATES IV. came to his rightful inheritance, and reigned till 210.

Here Sabatier inserts EUPATOR II. on the faith of a medal which came into his hands at Kerch. He supposes him to be son or grandson of Eupator I., but there is, however, but slender foundation for his supposition.

RHESCUPORIS IV., son of Sauromates IV., reigned from 212 to 229.

Of COTYS III. nothing is known, save that he must have reigned from 228—234; and just as little of SAUROMATES V., whose coins bear a nearly equal date, leading to the supposition of a joint sovereignty in some of these cases, after the example set at Rome of taking a colleague in order to confer upon him hereditary right. Here Koehler adds a fourth COTYS, whom Sabatier inclines to disavow. RHESCUPORIS V. is equally unknown to history, but from two coins it is presumed he reigned from A.D. 234—5, being followed by IRINTHIMÆUS, who was king of Bosporus from 338—239. RHESCUPORIS VI. reigned 14 years, from 240 to 253. Silver money was replaced in his reign by an inferior pewter.

[1] Capitol. in Vit. Anton. 9. [2] Luc. in Vit. Alex.

FAREANSES reigned from 254 to 258, and was succeeded by RHESCUPORIS VII., whose coins are dated between 255 to 268. He replaced the pewter by a coarse sort of bronze, and hence the barbarous style of the coinage becomes more and more striking. After 268 there is an interval of 7 years unaccounted for, during which, or at least part of which, this king may have continued to reign. SAUROMATES VI. may have reigned during some of the preceding 7 years. One sole coin of this monarch, dated 276, remains.

TEIRONES reigned from 276 to 279, and was followed by THOTHOASES, whose regimen continued till 308. SAUROMATES VII., by the evidence of two coins, occupied the throne till 312.[1] RHADÆNESADES, who

[1] The names of these Bosporian kings are said to be of Persian origin, and, although this may be true in some cases, the rule hardly appears universal in its application, without some little ingenuity and faith. Meerza Jaffa suggests the following:—

Mithridates. مهر داد (Mehr daud). Given by the Sun.

Machares. مه راز (Meh-raz). Mysteries of the Moon.

Farnaces. فرآهنگ (Ferauheng). Intelligent.

Sauromates. سرآمد (Seraumad). Distinguished.

Rhescuporis. رازک پرید (Razek-pereed). Mysterious.

Cotys. کوه دس (Kouh-dis). Like a mountain.

Rhoemetalces. روی مه تالک (Roŭi-mâh-talek). Adoring the moon's face.

Eupator. یبات آر (Ybataur). Destroyer.

Fareanses. فران (Feran). Resplendent.

Teiranes. تیران (Tyran). Archer.

Thothorses. دادارک (Dadarek). Just.

Rhadænesades. رادهمزاد (Radhemzad) By noble birth.

succeeded him, reigned till 321.; the coins of Rhescuporis VIII., however, bear date from 314—335.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions another Sauromates, but not with sufficient precision to guarantee the authenticity of the fact.

It has already been seen that the Kimerian or Tauric Chersonese, formed, with the Tanaïs, since called the Don, the boundary between Europe and Asia, and derived its appellation of Kimerian from a people who are said to have inhabited it in ancient times. On the European side the Milesians founded a colony, and built the town of Panticapæum, now Kerch; subsequently, however, they founded another town on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus, called Phanagoria, and it was from the position of these cities on the strait that the kingdom acquired the denomination of the kingdom of the Bosporus. The favourable position of these cities for commercial purposes, on account of the fertility of the soil, which produced grain, as at present, in great quantities, led to a flourishing trade, especially with Athens, which it supplied with cereals. The town of Kerch now makes up a great part of the deficit of Western Europe. The fertility of the soil and the increasing prosperity of the country led to the extension of a mere colony into a kingdom; and the first dynasty we read of is that of the Archæanætidæ, who, we have seen, reigned about 42 years, from B.C. 480 to 438, and that this dynasty was succeeded by Spartacus and his line, who being, probably, of Greek origin, cultivated a close alliance with Athens; and lastly, that Parisades was the last of this line, and surrendered his dominions to Mithridates the Eupator, on account of his inability to

defend himself against the inroads of the barbarous Scythians, in the same way as the Tatars, who subsequently got possession of it, were unable to hold their own against their modern, and perhaps, in fact, not far less barbarous descendants.

A fair estimate of their great prosperity may be formed, from the fact of the Tauric Scythians of Asia and Europe, when reduced to obedience by Mithridates, consenting to pay him an annual tribute of 2,100,000 medimes or bushels of wheat and 200 talents of silver.

According to the evidence of Strabo, the nomad Scythians became confounded and fused with the original Tauric inhabitants of the country, adopting their manners and customs.

Mithridates dying, B.C. 63, the Romans under Pompey at last crushed the remains of the power of that great Asiatic monarch, but allowed his son Pharnaces to succeed to the dominion of the kingdom of Bosporus, and from that time a long line of kings reigned over the country as vassals of the Roman emperors.

About A.D. 62 a tribe of nomad Alani ravaged the Tauric Chersonese, following and attacking the Tauric Scythians even into their mountain fastnesses, and becoming masters of the shore, lived a vagabond life, pillaging the neighbouring towns and all who dared not resist them; and it is supposed that Theodosia was destroyed by them. The grottos of Inkermann cannot therefore be attributed to this people.

The next incursion was that of the Goths, who reduced this vagabond race to subjection and compelled them to establish themselves in fixed abodes,

together with that remnant of the Tauric Scythians which they had spared to form themselves into communities and renounce their nomad life. The Goths then, in the middle of the second century, were the only people who had for a long series of years, indeed since the Mithridatic rule, introduced civilisation, and thus occupied the country undisturbedly for a far longer period than any of the other races; whence the country retained the name of Gothia even down to the fifteenth century.

The Huns were the first disturbers of Gothic tranquillity. Passing, A.D. 376, almost accidentally, the Kimerian Bosporus to the Panticapæon and Tauric Chersonese, they overthrew the kingdom of the Bosporus and destroyed all the houses and buildings, which Procopius, the successor of Reskouporis, tells us they looked upon as tombs. Assander or Cassander, who ceased to reign A.D. 334, was the last king of the Bosporus.

Happily for the Tauric Chersonesus the visitation of the Huns was but a passing event. They proceeded to inflict their barbarous presence on those inhabiting the banks of the Danaster and Ister, or Danube.

The death of Ermanriel, king of the Ostrogoths, removed the last impediment likely to arrest their projects of conquest,[1] and the Goths, who had fled for refuge to the mountains to escape being hurried away by the torrent of invasion, now drew breath, and found themselves finally ridded of this happily but ephemeral scourge. Subsequently they spread along the coast, and those on the Kimerian Bosporus acquired the name of Telraxite Goths. Procopius in-

[1] Ammian Marcellin.

forms us they had become Christians, but that he is unable to say of what sect.

In 547 the inhabitants sent four deputies to Justinian, to request him to supply them with a bishop in place of their Antistes, who had died. The great Byzantine lawgiver, and most orthodox emperor, granted their request by the infliction of a most orthodox, and, if he were not an exception to the rest of his order in that age, a most licentious prelate; but anxious to afford material as well as spiritual protection to his Gothic allies, who amounted to 3000 men capable of bearing arms, he proposed to construct two fortresses: the Goths, however, declared their preference for an unfettered life in the plains, notwithstanding which he fortified the passes into their steppes by long transverse walls, whereby their defence was rendered easy.

From this epoch, for about a century and a half, we hear little of the Gothic kingdom of Doru, as the country between Sevastópol and Simperópol was called according to Procopius, until it reappears as the place of banishment of the cruel Justinian II., surnamed Rhinomete or Cutnose. This emperor had been dethroned and exiled for his numerous cruelties (A.D. 695) by Leo to the Tauric Chersonese; and such was his fury and rage at this indignity, which he revenged on the innocent inhabitants, that they conspired to slay him as a *caput lupinum*. He unfortunately discovered the plot (A.D. 703) in the castle of Doru, on the borders of Gothia, in which he then resided, and the conspiracy, which, if it had succeeded, would have saved much subsequent bloodshed, miscarried.

The Khan of the Khazares, who ruled the countries

bordering on the Palus Mæotis, however, probably from policy, received him kindly, and gave him his daughter Theodora in marriage, granting them the Castle of Phanagoria for an abode.[1]

Leo being in his turn dethroned by Tiberius, the latter offered the Khân a large sum to deliver Justinian to him dead or alive. The Khân consented, and sent two officers for that purpose; but a slave having discovered his intention to Theodora, Justinian strangled the officers with his own hands, and sent Theodora back to her father, himself escaping by sea to a place called Asad, the position of which is doubtful, and thence to Symbolon, from which port he passed to the Danube with six companions, and soon rendered himself again master of the Byzantine capital.

Justinian, satiated with cruelties at home, bethought him of his vow to chastise Cherson, and sent thither a patrician named Stephen, selected for that purpose on account of his notorious cruelty, with orders to put all the inhabitants to the sword. Less cruel than his master thought him to be, he made the boys and girls slaves; seven ringleaders were roasted by a slow fire, and twenty others drowned; forty nobles and their wives were sent to the emperor. Justinian, irritated at this disobedience of his orders, directed the youths and girls to be sent to Constantinople. They were all drowned on the voyage in a storm, and these innocent victims thus happily escaped the cruelties prepared for them at the capital. It is useless to follow this blood-stained and well-known page of Byzantine history. Justinian paid the price of his atrocities, and

[1] Niceph. p. 27. Τὸ φρούριον τὸ λεγόμενον Δόρος πρὸς τῇ Γοτθικῇ κειμένον χώρᾳ. Theophanes calls it, p. 311, Δάρας.

his head was exhibited at the gate of his own palace for several successive days, A.D. 711.

Leo the philosopher raised the bishoprick of Gothia into an arch see, placing it thirty-fourth in order of precedence. The bishoprick of Soudaz, which probably obtained the same favor at that time, stood immediately after it, the archiepiscopacy of the Bosporus standing twenty-ninth in order. Thus at this period the ecclesiastical government of the Tauric Chersonese was divided among three metropoles.

The next nation which played an important part in this peninsula was the Genoese, which indeed eclipsed all former colonies. They retained the steppe and peninsula of Kerch under the name of Gazavne, the only memorial of the Gothic and Khazar domination. In 1280 they founded the magnificent colony of Kaffa, and being warriors as well as merchant traders, they raised the commerce of the Republic to a pitch which had hitherto been considered as impossible. Their factories extended not only along the southern coast, but along that of the Kimerian Bosporus to the embouchure of the Don and Dniester, and to Trápezund. They took Cimbalo (Balaclava) from the Greek princes who reigned there in 1365, and constructed the present ruined château, but were driven out by a conspiracy of the Greeks in 1433.

Such was the jealousy with which the Genoese guarded the monopoly they had obtained, that although they had acquired most accurate knowledge of the navigation of the Black Sea and of its coasts, they shrouded their operations in such mystery, and kept their charts and geographical treatises so strictly to themselves, that comparatively little is known of their

operations of that day, which are now only revealed to us by the extensive ruins of towns and factories of evident Genoese construction. Were diligent search made in the archives of Genoa, there can be no doubt that immense light would be thrown on the commerce of that age; for all through the Levant, from the Don to the Archipelago, indeed continuously at small intervals up to the walls of Genoa itself, are found the remains of fortresses of their construction, and which have been since adopted by the Turks to their own purposes: hence the term "Ghenesee Kalehsee" has become the accepted expression for a ruined fortress throughout this portion of Turkey. We find them in Greece, in her islands on both sides of the Archipelagos of the Marmora, the Bosporus, the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov, and the Caspian.

The system which they appear to have followed resembled that of the English in the present day, in placing a commercial colony on the desired spot, and then forming it into a fortress and strong military position, till at last an imperium in imperio was usurped, similar to the position of the mother city in Italy itself.

Their most important station was, however, at Constantinople, on the opposite side of the Golden Horn, and which now passes under the name of Galata. This was assigned to them by the Byzantine emperors, who did not consider it safe to allow them to reside within the city walls, as they did the Venetians and other trading foreigners. It is asserted that this very precaution hastened the downfall of Constantinople in 1453, by the Genoese having negotiated with Mohammed II. for the continuance of their privileges

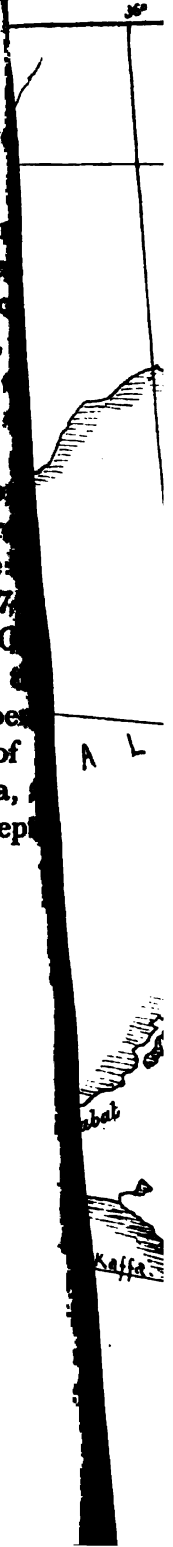
after he should have taken the city, on condition of their affording him certain facilities for attacking the city from their side. It does not however appear, if this was so, that Mohammed kept his word, as the colonies lost their trade from that time, after having enjoyed it uninterruptedly for a period of about 200 years, and that he at last took Kerch from them in 1475, twenty-two years after the fall of Constantinople. The conquest included the Heracleot Chersonese, and the Duke Mangoul and his two brothers, the last remnant of the Gothic race and language, were put to death. The Othomans subjugated the Khazar or Tatar races, and the Gothic claims became finally extinct.

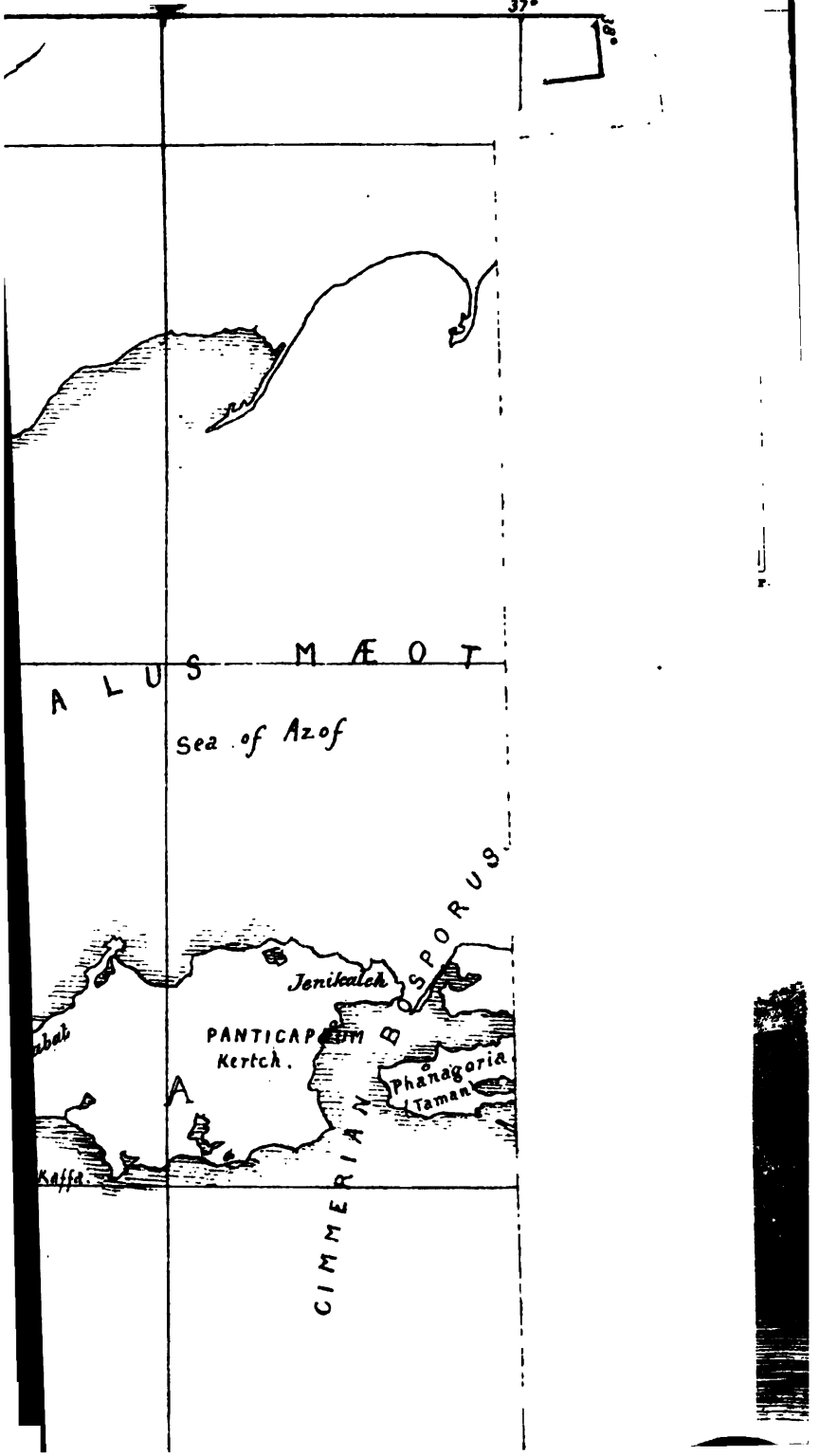
Mohammed II. closed the straits of the Bosporus against the powers of the West, so that its navigation was even forgotten, and myths worthy of the classic period took the place of practical experience. These straits remained closed by Othoman stolidity and ignorance for about 300 years.

Since the Porte took the Khâns of Lesser Tartary under its protection as vassals, the Tauric Peninsula has been the scene of continual struggles between the Othoman Tatars and Muscovites, till at last the latter, wearied with coveting this fine country, sent a numerous army in 1771 with orders to place Khân Saheb Guerai on the throne, who *in gratitude* ceded Kerch, Tene-kaleh, and Kilbornou to the Empress Catherine II. This was perfectly consistent with the principle of Muscovite policy, which consists of two steps,—protection, and occupation, which invariably follows it,—and most of her wars will be seen on examination to have effected

this double object, the occupation of a
hitherto protected, and the protection of a
vince: thus on the present occasion the prote
vinces of Wallachia and Moldavia were to be
and the rest of European Turkey protected,
ultimate view to occupation on the next
when protection would probably have been
to some Asiatic province.

The Tatar princes were the victims of the p
of their supine ally; but this was no mor
prelude to the—for Russia famous, but for the
Powers infamous—treaty of Kainardjee in 177
secured to Russia the free navigation of the
waters. It was not, however, until 1783
power was irrevocably established in this pe
and that the Tatars, all the members of
princely houses Russia had banished to Asia,
ting the brilliancy of their former deeds, accep
Muscovite yoke.

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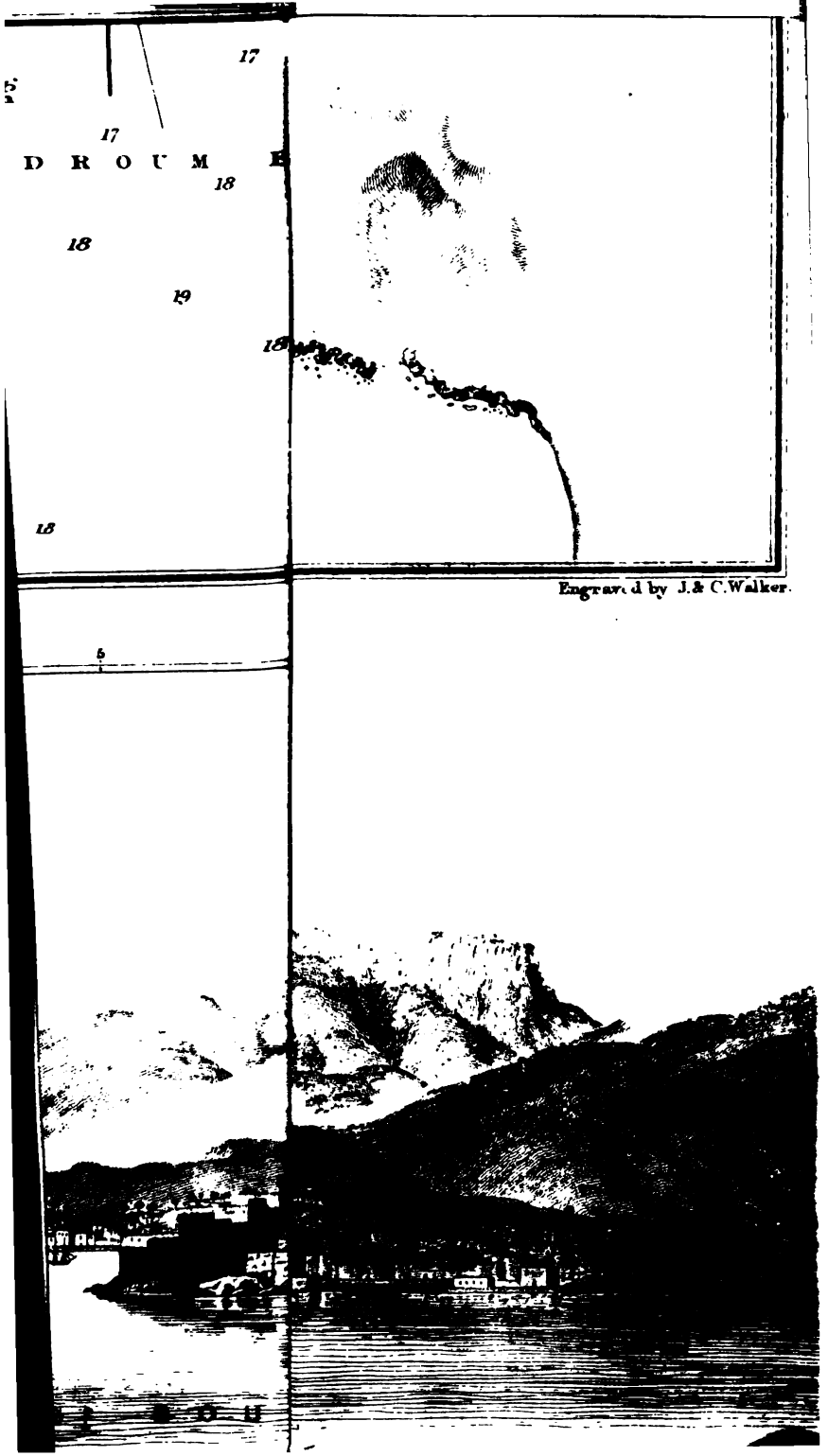
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ON CERTAIN DATES IN EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY, CALCULATED BY M. BIOT.

BY REGINALD STUART POOLE, ESQ.

(Read May 11th, 1853.)

Two years ago I submitted to the Royal Society of Literature some remarks on a date in Egyptian chronology, calculated by M. Biot. At that time I was unable to do more than advert very briefly to M. Biot's valuable memoirs. Since, however, the Council of the Society have done me the honour to decide that my observations shall be printed in the Transactions, it has seemed advisable to add to them some illustrative matter. I shall endeavour, therefore, to adduce some evidence as to the astronomical knowledge of the ancients, more especially of the Egyptians, (not with the idea of giving a sketch of ancient astronomy, but merely by way of corroborating the opinions I shall have to advance,) to notice M. Biot's researches, and to append a comparison of the results f these researches with the opinions of those who ave written on Egyptian chronology.

It is not easy to see clearly, nor pleasant to confess, ow very little we know of the state of science among

the ancients. There is some evidence to shew that views that have been generally held respecting the scientific knowledge of the Greeks and Romans are unjust; and it is to be expected that we should be still more ignorant of the attainments in this particular of the Egyptians and Chaldeans. But when we have admitted our deficiency in this respect, we have yet another difficulty, in the endeavour to place ourselves in a position to judge fairly. We consider the ancients rather in the light of those who, having possessed instruments, have been suddenly deprived of them, than as those who have never had such aids. But if we compare the condition of a short-sighted man, who has worn spectacles constantly and is at once deprived of them, with that of another who has never been so assisted, we perceive that it is unfair to consider their embarrassment to be equal. This case, however, does not sufficiently shew the difference between the ancients and moderns in the matter of aids to science; for in the case of astronomy much was done by the former to remedy their deficiency, by selecting those who possessed natural gifts most resembling the modern aids. The ancient astronomer required the clearest eyesight for observation and the strongest memory for calculation. So, too, in mechanics, mathematical accuracy was obtained with the simplest instruments, and the results of modern engineering were rivalled by a lavish, but well-directed, expenditure of physical labour.

Any one who has studied the astronomy of the Greeks and Romans will not be slow to admit that it is borrowed from foreign sources, and that it contains decided indications of a higher degree of knowledge in

such sources. It must, however, be also granted that we find in it much to shew that it has been generally underrated as to its degree of excellence. Among the former indications we may class the true theory of the solar system, and, among the latter, a knowledge and partial use of lenses. Some examination of evidence of this latter class may tend to indicate the height to which practical astronomy had attained among the Greeks and Romans, since the development and application of truths afford far clearer evidence than the simple acquaintance with them.

Seneca tells us that globes of glass filled with water were employed to magnify small writing: "Omnia per aquam videntibus longe esse majora. Literæ quamvis minutæ et obscuræ, per vitream pilam aqua plenam majores clarioresque cernuntur." And he adds, "Poma formosiora quam sunt videntur, si innatant vitro" (Nat. Quæst. lib. i. cap. vi.), thus shewing that he does not attribute the magnifying power in the former instance to the water alone. Pliny tells us of another application of the same principle, when he says that Nero (being short-sighted) viewed the combats of gladiators in a smaragdus: "Nero princeps gladiatorum pugnas spectabat in smaragdo" (Lib. xxxvii. cap. v.). We read, too, of mirrors and glasses which produced fire by concentrating the solar rays. Of these were the famous mirrors of Archimedes, and that employed to light again the sacred fire of Vesta when accidentally extinguished. Two supposed lenses have also been discovered in ancient sites, the one at Cyrene, and the other, of which I shall have occasion again to speak, at Nineveh.

To deny, therefore, that the Greeks and Romans

were acquainted with the principles of the telescope and microscope, and had even applied these principles, because that they made little progress in their application, would be as unreasonable as to deny that the Chinese were acquainted with the use of gunpowder because they employed it for a long period in fireworks alone. But a far more interesting inquiry is opened by the certainty that the astronomy of these peoples, based upon more ancient and foreign sources, contains great truths, first not understood, then rejected, which can have had their origin alone in a much higher state of knowledge. These truths we may fairly class with what we know of Chaldean and Egyptian astronomy as such, in order to view them methodically.

Of Chaldean astronomy I would speak but very briefly, since our knowledge of it, in itself second-hand, is likely soon to be greatly increased and rendered sure from original monuments. The Egyptian astronomy, moreover, probably differed little from that of the Chaldeans, though among the latter people this science appears to have been held in the higher estimation. With the Chaldeans, indeed, astronomy is thought to have had its birth, together with its corrupt form astrology, and the Chaldean traditions assign to the two an origin in the remotest ages. So closely was astronomy interwoven with religion that among the temples of Babylon were those probably used as observatories, built in stages, each of which was sacred to one of the planets, among which we must include the sun and moon. The Chaldean shepherds, under a clear sky, must have been forced as they kept their flocks to note the order of the heavens, until at length they thought the stars to be divinities,

and held them to be the first causes of what they were often but indications.

Thus arose Sabæism, which appears to have been the groundwork of the Chaldean religion, and certainly formed its distinctive feature. If the little we know of this religion did not prove thus much, we should infer it from the fact that by the priests of Babylon astronomical observations were made and preserved through a long series of centuries. For if we join with Cicero when he says, "Contemnamus etiam Babylonios, et eos, qui è Caucaso cœli signa servantes, numeris, et motibus, stellarum cursus persequuntur. Condemnemus, inquam, hos aut stultitiæ, aut vanitatis, aut imprudentiæ, qui cccclxx millia annorum, ut ipsi dicunt, monumentis comprehensa continent, et mentiri judicemus, nec sæculorum reliquorum judicium, quod de ipsis futurum sit, pertimescere[1]"—yet we must admit the credibility of the observations of 1903 years before Alexander which Callisthenes sent to Aristotle,[2] or at least that Ptolemy's Canon indicates a series of observations from the time of Nabonassar (B.C. 747), who, if we may credit a statement ascribed to Berosus, destroyed the earlier records.[3] But these careful observations of the priests were not only made from reverence to the cosmic objects of worship, or as a means of predicting the return of natural phenomena, such as occur in the order of nature,[4] but to foretell the future destiny of men, an art for which the Chaldeans were ever famous. "Chaldæi, non ex

[1] De Divinatione, i. 19.

[2] Simplic. Comment. p. 46, in lib. ii. Aristot. de Cœlo, p. 123.

[3] Syncel. Chron. p. 207 B.

[4] "Solis defectiones, itemque lunæ, prædicuntur in multos annos ab

artis sed ex gentis vocabulo nominati, diuturna observatione siderum, scientiam putantur effecisse, ut prædici posset, quid cuique eventurum et quo quisque fato natus esset."[1] Hence the firm hold that astronomy maintained in the East: it was not only indispensable to religion but to astrology, to that art which has more than any other fed man's vain desire to look into the future, and which neither religion nor science have been able in five chiliads to overthrow. Thus was astronomy held in honour by the Chaldeans, and that accuracy which results from long-continued and careful observations obtained. What instruments they possessed we know not. Mr. Layard, indeed, brought a lens from the site of Nineveh, which Sir David Brewster held to be of the Assyrian times; and if the Romans had lenses, there is more reason to suppose they were known to the Assyrians. But admitting its antiquity, we cannot tell to what special use this lens was applied, and we cannot suppose that it formed part of some sort of telescope, for it would be indeed bold to infer that this instrument was invented by the ancients, with nothing to support the conjecture but the account of the mirror of the Pharos of Alexandria.

Astronomy and astrology were held by the ancients to have been known to the Egyptians or practised by them from a very remote period, so that they were said to have originated during the reign of the gods, to one of whom, Thoth, their invention was ascribed. This tradition points to their antiquity, since the

iis, qui siderum cursus, et motus numeris persequuntur: ea prædicunt enim, quæ naturæ necessitas perfectura est."—De Divinatione, ii. 6.

[1] De Divinatione, i. 1.

period before the commencement of Egyptian history is called that of the divine reigns. But we need not go to traditions in order to prove the antiquity of astronomy in Egypt, since the earliest monuments of that country afford us distinct evidence. The inscriptions of the tombs near the Pyramids of El-Geezeh, dating about 2400 B.C. according to the most moderate computation, contain distinct mention of the stars in connection with funeral rites; and, by comparison with later records of the same character, afford us means of judging what was the astronomy of the Egyptians four thousand years ago. The manner, also, in which astronomy is thus shewn to have been connected with services for the dead, leaves us no room to doubt of the use of astrology, at least as early as this period. The Egyptian Ritual or Book of the Dead abounds in astronomical and astrological references, and, since it cannot be much later in date than the inscriptions first mentioned, affords evidence corroborative of theirs. It is, however, from the records of the Eighteenth and subsequent Dynasties, dating from the middle of the fifteenth century B.C., that we are able to gain the clearest idea of the state of astronomy and its debased form, astrology; and these records so entirely agree with the scantier memorials of earlier times in this and kindred matters, that we may fairly deduce from them the condition of the two sciences, if I may so speak, among the ancient Egyptians.

Astronomy was applied to two main purposes,—one, he regulation of the calendar of each year according o at least two systems, and the computation of cycles; ıe other, the determination of the positions of stars ·ith reference to their influence on mankind. A reli-

gious feeling in both cases induced a zealous prosecution of studies most easily followed in a warm climate beneath a cloudless sky, for observations formed of necessity their most important branch. When we recollect that these observations must have been carried on for about a thousand years at least before the time of those monuments whence we draw our main particulars, we need not marvel at the results which they produced. Of the theoretic part of this astronomy we must confess that we know little, that little being derived from the statements of Greeks and Romans and the inferential support these statements receive from the Egyptian monuments. And we must bear in mind that at the time when the Greek philosophers studied in Egypt there had been some intercourse of the former with the Chaldeans, and that we cannot always say positively that there is no confusion between the latter nation and the Egyptians in the writings of our classical authorities. For the present, therefore, it is wisest to leave the question as to whether the Egyptians were acquainted with the Copernican system or with the precession of the equinoxes open, until monumental data afford us decisive evidence. As to practical astronomy, fortunately we have more distinct knowledge, although there is much yet to be supplied.

If we may judge from the frequency of their mention and the uses for which they were employed, the apparitions of the fixed stars held the first place in the observations of the ancient Egyptians, and among these apparitions the heliacal risings were the most important. This latter circumstance itself—whether by heliacal rising we are to understand what is meant by

astronomers by that term, or a rising when the sun is at a greater distance below the horizon—sufficiently shews the difficult nature of their observations. The correction of the Vague Year of 365 days by the addition of an intercalary day in four years, in order to form a sidereal year, proves the accuracy of these observations, and one of the objects to which they were applied. The position of the Pyramids of Memphis, with one exception having their sides facing the cardinal points, proves the accuracy with which observations were made; as appears also from the solar well at Syene. The most remarkable records of Egyptian astronomy are, however, the ceiling of the Rameseum of El-Kurneh, commonly, though incorrectly, called the Memnonium, at Thebes, and the astrological lists of the Tombs of the Kings at the same place. The former is probably connected with astrology, and the latter have undoubtedly such a relation, although they are records of observations of the period. To these latter M. Biot particularly refers; and I propose, therefore, to give some sketch of his results, referring the reader to his memoirs for more detailed information than I can convey in this limited space.

M. Biot's first memoir of the two which have lately appeared relates to the examination of certain records of an astronomical character on the Egyptian monuments. Aided by several Egyptologists, and in particular by M. de Rougé, he has brought his scientific skill to bear upon these important documents. It would be impossible, except in a full translation of his bulky memoir, to do justice to the intricate inquiries he has pursued, and the ability and learning which he has displayed. I shall, therefore, be content to state

his main results; and in comparing them with those of other scholars, I shall have occasion to refer to the grounds on which they are based.

The records which M. Biot examines are four. The first three are of heliacal risings of Sothis in the reigns of Thothmes III. of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and of Rameses III. and VI. of the Twentieth, and the fourth is of the Vernal Equinox under the king first mentioned. They may be thus stated:—

Heliacal Risings of Sothis.

1. At Elephantine, in the reign of Thothmes III., on the 27th of Epiphi, 12th of July, B.C. 1444.

2. At Thebes, in the reign of Rameses III., on the 5th of the Epagomenæ, 14th of July, B.C. 1300.

3. At Thebes, in the reign of Rameses VI., on the 15th of Thoth, 14th of July, B.C. 1240.

Vernal Equinox.

4. At Semneh, in the reign of Thothmes III., on the 21st of Pharmuthi [cir. B.C. 1444].

With respect to the exactitude of these dates M. Biot remarks that the first three appear to him "très approximativement fixés," and that the fourth is correct within four or eight years. It must also be observed that the risings are dated on the monuments one day later than the days given above, which are those of observation, and that the years specified are the first in each case of a quadriennium of intercalation. M. Biot supposes the records to be those of observations made at the places where they are thus recorded, and the observations to possess no greater exactitude than such as he judges the Egyptian astronomers could attain. To the former of these results no reasonable objection can, I think, be made, although it is one on

which there is some difference of opinion; and to the latter, according to M. Biot's view, assent cannot be refused.

The four dates above mentioned may be examined in two ways, first, as to the independent evidence that we possess to shew what intervals elapsed between them, and secondly, as to the dates that have been assigned to the sovereigns in whose reigns they fall on other grounds.

The interval from M. Biot's date in the reign of Thothmes III. to that of Rameses III. is undoubtedly irreconcilable with the regnal chronology of the time, as will clearly appear from the following table. (See next page.)

PART OF MANETHO'S EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

ACCORDING TO

Monuments.		Josephus.				Africanus.			Eusebius.			
Name.	Highest Date.	No.	Name.	Yrs.	M.	No.	Name.	Yrs.	No.	Name.	Yrs. Gr.	Arm.
Thothmes [III.] Amenoph [II.]		6.	Mephramuthôsis	25	10	6.	Misphragmuthôsis	26	5.	Misphragmuthôsis	26	
Thothmes [IV.]		7.	Thmôsis	9	8	7.	Tuthmôsis	9	6.	Tuthmôsis	9	
Amenoph [III.]		8.	Amenôphis	30	10	8.	Amenôphis	31	7.	Amenôphis	31	
Har.		9.	Ôros	36	5	9.	Ôros	37	8.	Ôros	36 / 38	28
		10.	Akenchrês	12	1	10.	Acherrês	32	9	Achencherrês	16 / 12	16
		11.	Rathôtis	9		11.	Rathôs	6				
		12.	Akenchêrês	12	5	12.	Chebrês	12	10.	Acherrês	8	
		13.	Akenchêrês	12	3	13.	Acherrês	12	11.	Cherrês	15	
		14.	Armais	4	1	14.	Armessês	5	12.	Armais	5	
Rameses [I.]		15.	Ramessês	1	4	15.	Ramessês	1				
		16.	Armessês Miammû	66	2				13.	Ramessês	68	
		17.	Amenôphis	19	6	16.	Amenôphath	19	14.	Amenôphis	40	
						MANETHO'S NINETEENTH DYNASTY.						
Sethee [I.]		1.	Sethôsis-Ramessês	59		1.	Sethôs	51	1.	Sethôs	55	
Rameses [II.]		2.	Rampsês	66		2.	Rapsakês	61	2.	Rampsês	66	
Menptah.						3.	Amenephthês	20	3.	Ammenephthis	40	8
						4.	Ramessês	60				
Amenmeses?						5.	Amenenemnês	5	4.	Ammenemês	26	26
Siptah?						6.	Thuôris	7	5.	Thuôris	7	
						MANETHO'S TWENTIETH DYNASTY.						
Sethee [II.] Rameses [III.]						[Names not stated.]						

It must be remarked that the kings placed between Oros and Rameses I. in the lists of Manetho, appear to have ruled, for the most part at least, contemporaneously with the sovereigns of the legitimate series, and that the latter part of the Eighteenth Dynasty contains one or two kings, according to the different versions, erroneously introduced from the Nineteenth. It must be also noticed that the fourth king of the Nineteenth Dynasty in Africanus's version is manifestly interpolated, and that the last two sovereigns of the same Dynasty probably ruled contemporaneously with the third.

If we take, then, the sum of the reigns of the kings of the regular series, from Thothmes III. to Rameses III. exclusive, we find them to be, according to Josephus, 203 years 3 months $+x+x+x$; according to Africanus, $210+x+x$, and according to Eusebius, $237+x+x+x$,.or 239 (Gr.) or 197 (Arm.). The unknown quantities probably do not exceed, in the case of Africanus's list, twenty years. The highest dates on the monuments give us a minimum interval of about 120 years, and I am therefore forced to consider M. Biot's first and fourth dates irrconcilable with his second. It may, indeed, be suggested that certain kings of the regular series ruled for a part of their reigns together as co-regents; but, if we admit this in one or two instances, it must be borne in mind that it would be monstrous to suppose that we have a date of the last year of each king, and that some years (probably forty) of the reign of Thothmes III. followed hat of the record, and that we have no right to assume that the record of Rameses III. is dated at his ıccession. The latest of the three dates, the heliacal

rising in the reign of Rameses VI., B.C. 1240, though it does not clash with that of Rameses III., is unnecessarily distant from it, since from the accession of the one king to the end of the rule of the other, who was one of his sons, we have no reason to reckon more than sixty years. This last date, however, is reconcilable with that of the heliacal rising in the reign of Thothmes III., which again receives some support, though, in this view, of no great strength, from the calculation of the Vernal Equinox in the time of the same king.

M. de Rougé himself has at length perceived this irreconcilability of the Sothic date of Thothmes III. with that of Rameses III., and has abandoned the former altogether. His reasons, which are given in full in the number of the 'Athenæum Français' of November 3, 1855, are, that the two dates being irreconcilable, he has been induced to see if they really belong to the kings to whose reigns he had assigned them. The result is, that he finds the evidence which determined the former date to have been in the reign of Thothmes III. to be insufficient, since the inscription containing the date and that bearing the king's name are on separate fragments, moreover that Dr. Brugsch asserts the two fragments to be of different style, that there are remains at the same place of a calendar of the time of Rameses II., and that after all, if the cartouche of Thothmes III. was really part of the same inscription, it may have been cited on account of some earlier gift. In conclusion, M. de Rougé says that nothing proves that the fragment bearing the name of Thothmes III. has any connection with that recording the Sothic date.

Passing over the circumstance that M. de Rougé, who demands an extreme circumspection in those who examine astronomical inscriptions, never took care to ascertain if the inscription in question was really of Thothmes III. before he gave M. Biot materials for a most laborious investigation—a circumstance that cannot but shake our confidence in this distinguished archæologist's accuracy—it may be conceded, for the sake of argument, that there is no evidence that the record is of the time of Thothmes III. The next point is, that M. de Rougé proposes to attribute the date to Rameses II., although it is most doubtful whether the whole interval from the first year of that king to the last of Rameses VI., was as great as that between the date under consideration and that of the latter king; so that this is scarcely better than an escape from one dilemma into another, or, to speak most moderately, an adoption of a thing highly improbable instead of one absolutely impossible. The saving clause, that Thothmes III. may, after all, be mentioned, though only on account of some former gift, notwithstanding its meritorious ingenuity and its value as an independent reserve, is scarcely plausible; for why should a king be "cited on account of some former gift" in a calendar of sacred festivals? But M. de Rougé has entirely evaded the question as to the tropical date of Thothmes III., which has afforded a confirmation of the Sothic one under examination. He gives M. Biot a record which states that a certain ay of the Vague Year was the commencement of the asons; and M. Biot finds that if his Sothic date of hothmes III. be accurate, then this commencement the seasons would correspond with the Vernal

Equinox. This confirmation is, at least, curious; and if we throw the Sothic date as late as Rameses II., we could find no tropical point coincident with this commencement of the seasons. We have, therefore, some reason for thinking that M. de Rougé's first conjecture, or that conjecture which he received from others without examination, is, after all, a right one. But this idea is supported by other evidence, which M. de Rougé has overlooked. Mr. Harris of Alexandria copied an inscription,[1] which speaks distinctly of a commencement of a period of panegyries. It is dated on the second (or, as Mr. Birch thinks, from a cast in his possession, the twelfth[2]) of Mesori, and contains a mention of the heliacal rising of Sothis. Now, although there is no proof that the date in the vague year is that of a Sothic rising, this cannot be said to be improbable *primâ facie;* and since a rising on the second or twelfth of Mesori could well occur during the same reign—a reign we know to have lasted at least forty-two years—as one on the twenty-seventh of Epiphi (the date of the record supposed to be of Thothmes III.), this may fairly be considered corroborative evidence. There is also a record of Amenoph III., in which the Festival of the Waters is stated to have occurred on the 16th of Athyr. This festival, if celebrated when the Nile was highest, would point to about 1400 B.C., a period entirely in accordance with the supposed Sothic date of Thothmes III. I prefer, therefore, to hold the date in question to be of the

[1] See his 'Hieroglyphical Standards.'

[2] Sir Gardner Wilkinson has since ascertained the correctness of this conjecture.

time of this king, unless that of Rameses III. should prove to rest upon a positive basis.[1]

It is necessary, therefore, to ascertain if there be any evidence tending to reconcile the supposed monumental date of Thothmes III. and that of Rameses III. It must be admitted, at the outset, that in the two cases the heliacal risings are not differently recorded, and that the inscriptions must be admitted to be, in all external characteristics, essentially similar. Their discordance, therefore—a discordance which is not, as I have shewn above, to be removed by the theory that the earlier of them is not of Thothmes III.—can only be explained by the suppositions of a different reckoning or of a conventional observance of a phenomenon on a particular day, after it had ceased to occur on that day. The former conjecture receives not a little support from what we are told by ancient writers of the Sothic Year and Sothic Cycle of the Egyptians. It is related that they had a fixed year of 365¼ days, commencing with the heliacal rising of Sothis, and that they had a cycle of 1460 of these years, beginning when they and the Vague Year of 365 days coincided. One of these Sothic cycles, which there is strong reason to suppose to have been the first, commenced in the year B.C. 1322; and if it

[1] I may here explain why I have spoken thus plainly as to M. de Rougé's chronological labours. It is because he has treated me with the same candour, and I cannot do better than cite the words he used with reference to a work of mine—words which I apply without hesitation to him in this particular instance. "J'avoue qu'il m'a été impossible de comprendre comment, en présence de prétentions si importantes, M. Poole ne s'est pas cru obligé de prouver la vérité de ses assertions, en analysant minutieusement les inscriptions qu'il allègue."—Revue Archéologique, tom. ix., p. 664.

were the first, most probably with it began the use of the Sothic Year. This date, falling between those of Thothmes III. and Rameses III., seems, therefore, to supply the wished-for evidence; and, certainly, the idea of a fixed year being employed is far preferable to the notion of the conventional celebration of an observation. This opinion derives no weak support from the circumstance, strangely overlooked by M. de Rougé, that in the astronomical ceiling of the Rameseum of El-Kurneh, Sothis is placed beneath the commencement of the year, no doubt, as all admit, because she then rose. This ceiling is of the time of Rameses II., certainly the third legitimate predecessor of Rameses III. If, therefore, we do not admit one of the astronomical records of the two kings to be dated in a fixed year, commencing at the rising of Sothis, we are involved in the dilemma of making rulers, separated by a considerable interval, contemporary. But if we suppose a Sothic Year to be used in the earlier alone of the two inscriptions, our difficulty remains unsolved, and we can only remove it by inferring this of the second alone, or of both, which last theory seems the most probable. I think, therefore, that it is most reasonable to hold the two inscriptions of Thothmes III. and that of Rameses VI. to be records of local observations, made on the days of the Vague Year specified, and to consider the calendar of Rameses III. to be of a Sothic Year. It may, indeed, be objected, that this explanation implies a resumption of the old system in the case of Rameses VI.; but to this it may be replied, that there may have been motives for retaining the Vague Year for astrological tables, like those of the last king, and that such reasons may

not have existed with respect to the calendars of the temples.

It only remains to compare the dates of Thothmes III. and Rameses VI., putting aside that of Rameses III., with the principal systems of Egyptian chronology that have been held since the interpretation of hieroglyphics. It would be impossible, in a limited space, to speak of more than those few systems which have been maintained by the greater number of scholars, or possess some distinct peculiarities; though it is not from any want of respect that others will be passed by, but because the present paper is limited to a size that prohibits their full consideration. As I have shown that there can be little doubt as to the intervals from Thothmes III. to Rameses III., and again from Rameses III. to Rameses VI., the proposed comparison may best be instituted with respect to the Sothic date of the first of these kings.

Although Champollion le Jeune never committed himself to any complete system of Egyptian chronology, perhaps judging that there was not yet a sufficiency of evidence on which to found it, it is well known that he agreed in the main with Rosellini as to the Eighteenth Dynasty. Rosellini's scheme is more at variance with M. Biot's date of Thothmes III. than any other which I shall have occasion to mention, for he places that king's accession three hundred years before that point. This extraordinary difference is somewhat abated by the omission of those reigns in Manetho's list of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties which have been mentioned above as erroneously repeated by ancient copyists. This error, first perceived by the learned Petavius, was not noticed by

later Egyptologists, until Chevalier Bunsen drew attention to it. Had Rosellini expunged the spurious reigns, the date of Thothmes III.'s accession would have been lowered at least a century.

Like Champollion and Rosellini, Bunsen and Lepsius differ but slightly as to the Eighteenth Dynasty, the commencement of which they agree in placing at or about the middle of the seventeenth century B.C. In consequence, they date the accession of Thothmes III. about the middle of the sixteenth century B.C. Chevalier Bunsen assigns this even to about the year B.C. 1545, and there can be no doubt that Professor Lepsius very nearly agrees with him, although it is not possible to speak positively until the appearance of the long-delayed continuation of his 'Chronologie der Ægypter.' M. Biot's date differs, therefore, from the systems of these eminent scholars by not less than a century, and, since Thothmes III. reigned upwards of forty years, the discrepancy may be much greater.

The chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty, as arranged by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in his 'Modern Egypt and Thebes,' presents something much more like an agreement with M. Biot's date than the systems which have been already noticed. The reign of Thothmes III. is there placed B.C. 1495–1457; and since the table is confessedly approximative, this must be regarded as very nearly consistent with the result of the French astronomer. The reason of this is that Sir Gardner has treated the lists with very little respect, and corrected them, as some have thought, rather arbitrarily, in order to reconcile them with the monuments. The result affords a fresh proof of the sagacity and judgment which have so frequently guided him from slender data to important results.

It is no small satisfaction to me to find that the only system of Egyptian chronology with which M. Biot's date of Thothmes III. exactly tallies, is that which I put forth in my 'Horæ Ægyptiacæ.' One of the dates deduced from the Egyptian monuments which I published in that work, is in the year B.C. 1442, in the sixteenth of the reign of Queen Amennumt. This sovereign was a co-regent of Thothmes II. and Thothmes III., and, since the former king ruled about thirteen years, her sixteenth year must have fallen in the reign of Thothmes III., and probably not earlier than his third year. The Queen's sixteenth year began in B.C. 1443, and ended in B.C. 1442, so that Thothmes III. apparently did not begin to reign (admitting the accuracy of my chronology) later than the vague Egyptian year B.C. 1445–1444. Another date of Thothmes III., that of his thirty-third year, mentioned in an earlier part of this paper, entirely corroborates this computation; for by shewing that regnal year to have corresponded to B.C. 1413–1412, it fixes the third to B.C. 1443–1442. The two dates are confirmed by a circumstance which Mr. Birch was good enough to mention to me when I communicated the present paper to the Society. He then stated to me his opinion that the Calendar of Elephantine was sculptured in the second year of Thothmes III., since the temple to which it doubtless belonged was then dedicated. Now this year, according to the computation given above, corresponded to the proleptic Julian years B.C. 1444–1443, to the former of which M. Biot assigns the heliacal rising of Sothis recorded in that Calendar. Here, again, we have a confirmation of the accuracy of M. de Rougé's first opinion.

I will only observe, in conclusion, that it is much to be desired that some person of competent mathematical knowledge may give English scholars a translation and examination of M. Biot's valuable essays, that works of such high importance may not fail to receive in this country the attention they merit.

REGINALD STUART POOLE.

XVIII.—ON SOME ANCIENT ASSYRIAN AND EGYPTIAN SCULPTURES AND INSCRIPTIONS IN TURKEY.

BY JOHN HOGG, M.A., F.R.S., FOR. SEC. R.S.L., ETC.

(Read November 23rd, 1853.)

In addition to the well-known Chaldean, or Babylonian, or Assyrian tablets, sculptured in *basso-rilievo*, which still remain upon the Syrian coast to the north of *Beirut*, along the sides of the ancient road near the mouth of the river Lycus (*Nahr el Kelb*), I beg to state to the Royal Society of Literature, that some other remains of a similar character seem to have been recently discovered in the same country, not far from Damascus.

An Irish Protestant missionary at the latter city, the Rev. J. L. Porter, M. A., has in a late communication ('Journal of Sacred Literature,' No. for July, 1853, p. 259) thus described a remarkable *mound* and a limestone *tablet*, bearing a sculptured *figure*:—"Two hours and a half westward from Damascus, on the left bank of the river, is a very singular artificial *Tell*, or mound, called 'Tell e' Salahyeh.'[1] It is of an oval shape,

[1] Dr. Robinson and Mr. Porter write the word *Salahiyeh*, but I hink *Salahyeh* is sufficiently correct without the addition of the vowel *i*; for if the *y* be dwelt on in the pronunciation, the sound of both words will be much the same. And instead of the modern nethod of writing those Arabic words in English which have the

and its dimensions I estimated as follows:—greatest diameter 300 yards, least diameter 100 yards, height 100 feet. The whole surface of the *tell* is covered with the *débris* of crumbled brick, intermixed with broken pottery. At a spot on the southern side, near the river, where a part of the mound has been cut away, the face of the cutting is entirely composed of a solid mass of sunburnt bricks in regular layers. It seems as if the original form of the structure had been a large platform of solid brickwork, some thirty feet in height; and then on the centre of this was erected a lofty building, which in time has crumbled down, and the ruins of which now constitute the central portion of the *tell*. May it not have resembled the Towers of Nineveh or Babylon?

"A large slab of white limestone lies beside it. On this is a piece of rude sculpture, resembling in form and dress some of those lately brought to light by the excavations at Nineveh. The figure is that of a priest. The beard is long, regular, and curled at the end, similar to those found on Assyrian sculptures. The head-dress is broken off. The (right) arm is bent at the elbow, and the hand, close to the breast, clasps the *croix ansée*, the emblem of eternal life. The left hand is extended in front, grasping a long staff. The robe or coat is short, but encircles the whole body. I have little doubt but that this is a memorial of the *Assyrian* dominion in Damascus."

article *el* before a word commencing with a *Solar* letter, as *Es Salahyeh, Esh Shams, Eth Themed*, &c., I have abbreviated them thus, *E' Salahyeh, E' Shams, E' Themed*, &c.: care however being taken in pronouncing them always to give a *double* force to the *Solar* letter. (J. H.)

The country-people call this artificial and brick-built mound *Tell e' Salahyeh*, which means the 'Mound of *Salaheddin*,' or Saladin, instead of the more correct appellation of the 'Mound of the Assyrian,' or possibly 'of Sennacherib,' or '*Shalmaneser*.' Salaheddin, or Salahadin, died at Damascus in A.D. 1192; and his beautiful mausoleum is now to be seen just outside of the north-western corner of the Court of the Great Mosque. Thus it would seem that a later *Saracenic* tradition took the place of the earlier and original one, which had doubtless referred to some *Assyrian* sovereign. An altar, or a temple, was often placed on the summit of such a mound, and even sometimes a town was built thereon. So Strabo[1] mentions that the city of *Tyana*, in Cappadocia, was placed *on a mound*, erected by *Semiramis*: *Τὰ δὲ Τύανα ἐπίκειται χώματι Σεμιράμιδος τετειχισμένῳ καλῶς.*

Conceiving both of these remains to be monuments of much interest, and which require a further examination, I have written,[2] a few weeks since, to a friend acquainted with Mr. Porter, to request that he will favour us with a more detailed account of the mounds; and either transmit the sculptured slab itself, if he could procure it, to this country, or else give us either an exact drawing, or an impression in paper, or a plaster cast of it. The latter could then be an appropriate companion to the cast which our member Mr. Joseph Bonomi took of the principal bas-relief, or *King*,—conjectured by some travellers as representing *Sennacherib* (B.C. 712), by myself as possibly intended

[1] Geogr. *lib.* xii. p. 779, edit. *Falconer*, Oxon. 1807.

[2] See likewise my Paper "On the Rivers of Damascus," Journal of Sacred Literature, No. for October, 1853, p. 217.

for *Nebuchadnezzar*[1] (B.C. 604), and now determined by Col. Rawlinson and Dr. Hincks to represent the former of these monarchs,—near the *Nahr el Kelb*, and which his Grace the Duke of Northumberland presented a few years ago to the British Museum.[2]

Mr. Layard, who found the same figure represented on the buildings of Koyunjik,[3] conceived that a like sculptured bas-relief, discovered a few years since near the supposed site of the ancient *Citium*, in the Isle of Cyprus, and lately transported to the Royal Museum at Berlin, was intended for that king.[4] This Assyrian relief, however, Col. Rawlinson examined on his return to the East, in the autumn of 1851, and he thinks it not improbable that it represents *Shalmaneser*,[5] the father of Sennacherib, who, according to Josephus's narrative, put down the revolt of the Citians.[6]

[1] *Note* at p. 45, vol. xx., of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.

[2] Mr. Bonomi has also figured this Assyrian tablet in Plate 2, Vol. III. Trans. R. S. L. (*old series*); and it has again more recently been represented at fig. *d*, Abtheilung III. Bl. 197, of the 'Denkmäler aus Ægypten,' &c. von C. R. Lepsius. But the proportions of this last figure *d* are not quite correct, inasmuch as its width is somewhat too great for its height. The cast from the original bas-relief made by Mr. Bonomi is now in the British Museum, No. 1, in the "*Koyunjik* Side Gallery," and is named "Sennacherib;" it is 5 ft. 11 in. high, by 2 ft. 8½ in. wide.

[3] 'Nineveh' (Second Expedition), Part I. p. 142.

[4] Vide *ibid.*, p. 452.

[5] Or Enemessar.—See Tobit, ch. i. ver. 15.

[6] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. *lib.* ix. *cap.* 14. *s.* 2. The *Citians* of Cyprus, according to Cicero and Josephus, were of Phœnician origin, and doubtless derived from the *Chittim* of the Bible. The ruins of that town (*Citium*),—now called Citi, τὸ Κίτι, pronounced Tschiti,—are situate near Larnika. Pococke there found many short Phœnician inscriptions. But there was also another *Citium*, probably founded

And I may add, that it was my desire to have visited Berlin this summer, when I should have endeavoured to have brought away with me a plaster cast of this Cyprus monument, which on my return I should have placed in the British Museum, next to the Bonomian cast from the *Nahr el Kelb*. But circumstances prevented me this year from executing this agreeable intention.

And with regard to the Assyrian monuments recently discovered about eight miles from Damascus,[1] it is by no means unlikely but that they may prove to be some remains of the Assyrian colony mentioned by the Jewish historian in a preceding chapter,[2] as having been brought to that city by *Tiglath Pileser*,—*Θεγλαφαλασσάρης*,—King of Assyria, in the place of the Damascenes, who were taken captive to *Kir* in Media, after he had slain their king *Rezin*: *Ἀράσης, τοὺς δὲ Δαμασκηνοὺς ἀπῴκισεν εἰς τὴν ἄνω Μηδίαν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων μεταστήσας τινὰς εἰς τὴν Δαμασκὸν κατῴκισε.* These transactions took place B.C. 740, in the time of *Ahaz*, King of Judah, and are also related in the 16th chapter of the 2nd Book of Kings, from the 5th to the 10th verse. They, indeed, were the fulfilment of the prophecy delivered by Amos, in ch. i. ver. 5.

by some Phœnicians at an early age, in *Macedonia* (hodie *Mausta*), not far from Pella, which is mentioned by Livy (*lib.* 42. *cap.* 51), and which may explain why the terms "Chettiim" and "Citims" were applied to the *Macedonians* in 1 Maccabees, ch. i. ver. 1, and ch. viii. ver. 5.

[1] Whilst this Paper was going through the press, Mr. Porter has published his interesting work on 'Damascus,' in which (*vol.* i., opposite to *p.* 373) is seen a woodcut representing the *Tell e' Salahyeh*. (January 1856.)

[2] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. *lib.* IX. *cap.* 12. *s.* 3.

Another very late traveller in Syria, M. de Saulcy, after having, in March, 1851, personally visited these Assyrian sculptures at the river Lycus, writes:[1]—

"After having carefully and leisurely studied these venerable remains, I asked myself where were the *Egyptian* basso-rilievos carved by order of *Sesostris*, of which so much has been said, and of which *imaginary sketches* have actually been given. I positively and openly declare that these *Egyptian* basso-rilievos, as well as the hieroglyphical texts appended to them, are a mere invention; and this forgery is the more unskilful, as the very parties who published it have been silly enough to place the basso-rilievos within the surfaces set round with framework accompanying the *Assyrian* stélés, whilst they have allowed the traces of the hooks to remain,—traces which they have even exactly copied, without reflecting that their presence sufficiently demonstrates the forgery of the basso-rilievos, which never could have been intended to remain for ever concealed behind a plate of metal or marble, fastened over them with four substantial cramp-irons. Besides these surfaces are perfectly smooth, and have never been carved, any more than the cornices, upon which the same persons have pretended to place some winged disks, according to the Egyptian fashion. The presence of the *Egyptian* sculptures at the *Nahr el Kelb* must consequently be numbered amongst the forgeries upon which, unfortunately, some scholars, with perfect good faith, have wasted their sagacity, without being aware that they were chasing as empty a chimera as the golden tooth.

[1] 'Journey in Syria, and round along the Dead Sea,' vol. ii. p. 655.

"At all events, I enjoy the satisfaction of not being alone in my opinion. All the well-informed Frenchmen residing in Beyrout are perfectly aware that there is *no Egyptian* bas-relief at the Nahr el Kelb; and my young and learned friend M. J. Oppert, on his passage through Beyrout, as he was proceeding to Mesopotamia, in company with M. Fresnel, has written to me, after having visited the Nahr el Kelb, a letter, in which he treats, as severely as it deserves, the paltry archæological fraud which, at my suggestion, he had gone to investigate."

On the other hand, that eminent Egyptologist Dr. Lepsius, having examined the sculptures at *Nahr el Kelb*, in November, 1845, does not seem to me to have entertained the least suspicion that the *Egyptian bas-reliefs* are not authentic and genuine monuments of antiquity. I here add, from the English Translation of his 'Letters,' the following account:[1]—

"I examined the sculptures more closely (by which passes the ancient artificially constructed road, now broken up), and I rejoiced over some essential discoveries, as I found it would be possible to decypher a date in the hieroglyphical inscriptions. Among the *three Egyptian* representations, which all bear the cartouches of Ramses II.,[2] the middle one is dedicated to

[1] See 'Letters' by Dr. R. Lepsius, translated by McKenzie, p. 419; and the same work translated by the Misses Horner, p. 355, which was revised by the author.

[2] This king, *Ramses Sesostris*, appears, according to Dr. Lepsius, to have been the Pharaoh whose daughter saved the infant Moses. He was of Theban origin, of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and distinguished or having erected some of the principal Egyptian monuments remaining at this day. Mr. Osburn, in his 'Monumental History of Egypt' (vol. ii. p. 442), observes, "The tablets of Sesostris, seen

the highest god of the Egyptians, to *Ra* (*Helios*), the southernmost to the Theban or Upper-Egyptian *Ammon*, and the northern one to the Memphite or Lower-Egyptian *Phtha*. To the same gods this Ramses had also dedicated the three celebrated rock-temples in Nubia, Gerf-Hussên, Sebûa, and Derr; no doubt because he believed them to be the *three* principal representers of Egypt. On the middle stela the inscription begins under the representation, with the date of the 2nd Choiak of the fourth year of the reign of King Ramses. The Ammon's stela, on the contrary, was of the second or (if the two marks were bound together at the top) of the tenth year's date,—under any circumstances, of some other date than the middle stela,—whence it might be concluded that all three representations referred to *different* campaigns."

Here moreover it will be perceived that Dr. Lepsius expressly mentions "rejoicing over some *essential discoveries*," which he made "in the Hieroglyphical inscriptions" of these sculptures, and consequently he could not have thought, for a moment, that they were "forgeries," as M. de Saulcy has subsequently, without any hesitation, declared them to be. The question of their authenticity or spuriousness is one of importance, and at the same time of especial interest to the Royal Society of Literature; because lithographed representations of *three* of them,[1] made from

(by Herodotus) in Syrian (*i.e.* in North) Palestine, are also extant at this day. They are engraven on the rocks that overhang the northern (*southern*) bank of the Nahr el Kelb, the ancient river *Lycus*, which divided Palestine from Syria."

[1] All these bas-reliefs are drawn in M. Léon de Laborde's beautifully lithographed views, in his 'Voyage de la Syrie,' published

drawings taken on the spot by Mr. Joseph Bonomi, have been published in Plate 2, Nos. 1, 2, and 3, in an early volume (Vol. III. *old series*) of their Transactions. I must therefore hope that Egyptologists will not allow any statement of their spuriousness to take root, without making further investigations on the subject, so that they may arrive at a sound decision respecting them; but, as I have not seen the original bas-reliefs, I will not venture to express any further opinion than that I feel a strong conviction of their genuineness.[1]

An error having occurred at p. 105 in that volume of the Transactions, it is necessary that I should here rectify it. Note 2 relates to one of the Assyrian tablets, and ought to be referred to after the word "preserved," in the text, p. 105, two lines above. Mr. J. Bonomi, in a letter to me, gave the following correction:—"I do not know by what accident it is said that a cast of the tablet containing a *Latin* inscription was made by me, and presented to the British

nearly twenty years ago, and in the Abtheilung III. Bl. 197, of the recently published andmagnificent work 'Denkmäler aus Ægypten,' von C. R. Lepsius, the figs. *a*, *b*, *c*, represent these same *Egyptian* tablets at the Nahr el Kelb; but they are given on a larger scale than those by Mr. J. Bonomi, or by M. Léon de Laborde.

[1] It seems to me impossible, that the united testimony of so many distinguished travellers and scholars as have examined and written on these *Egyptian* sculptures, can be annulled by the *dictum* of the too hasty De Saulcy. See the statements of many of these scholars collected in Ritter's 'Erdkunde' (17 Theil, Berlin, 1854, s. 26. Erl. 2. pp. 531–546): "Die Ægyptischen und Assyrischen Königsbilder, mit den Hieroglyphen und Keilinscriptionen, an der Mündung des Kelbflusses." And why should the French *savant* allow the genuineness of the Assyrian, and yet declare the forgery of the Egyptian bas-reliefs?

Museum: the *only cast* I made was that of the *Assyrian* figure now in the British Museum."

Again, in connection with the subject of Assyrian Archæology, are the *inscriptions* mentioned by Herodotus (in *Melp.*), as having been set up by Darius, son of Hystaspes, during his memorable expedition into Thrace. The *first* was *bilingual* and was engraven in *Assyrian* and *Greek* letters—*ἐνταμὼν γράμματα, ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀσσύρια, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὰ*,[1]—on two *stelæ*, erected on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, recording the names of the nations in his army. No remains of this have as yet been discovered;[2] nor, as far as I am aware, has any tradition respecting it been handed down at Constantinople, whither the *two stelæ* themselves were removed.

The *second* inscription, on a similar *stela*, was like the former, most probably also *bilingual*. It was erected by the same king (*Melp.* cap. 91), at the sources of the river Tearus, in praise of their clear and excellent waters. Herodotus gives the Greek copy of the inscription. Inquiries respecting the existing remains of this *stela* have been made by several travellers: I will here only bring forward and cite *two* of them.

The late Dr. E. D. Clarke, in his 'Travels,' mentions the "Tearus, at whose stream a stela was erected by Darius, with a remarkable inscription preserved by the historian. The sources of the Tearus occur to the

[1] Herod. *Melp.* cap. 87.

[2] Lord Carlisle (p. 111, 'Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters,' 3rd edit.) says, "the inscription on the stone" (where Darius crossed the Bosphorus), "which was known formerly to exist, has *not* been discovered."

north of Constantinople, in the neighbourhood of *Kirk Iklisiè;* and as the name of the river is still preserved in modern maps,[1] with hardly any alteration, it were to be wished, that some traveller would pay a visit to the spot."[2]

Again, the same intelligent traveller visited "the town of *Kirk Iklisiè*," and thus writes:[3]—"Although so near to the Black Sea, the small river upon which it is situated takes an opposite course, and after joining the *Maritza* (the former *Hebrus*), falls into the Archipelago. In its modern appellation of *Dearadéré* we recognize the old classical name of a river at whose stream Darius left the *inscription*, which is preserved by Herodotus. The springs of the Tearus cannot be remote from the walls of the town. We were extremely desirous of going in search of them, to see if any remains of the monument left by the Persian Monarch to commemorate his visit to the spot, might now be discovered; but the state of the country precluded all possibility of venturing, without a powerful escort, to any distance from the route." The present name of *Deardéré*, or *Dearadéré*, I need scarcely remark, signifies in Turkish the 'Tearus valley:' it is laid down in Cary's map, No. 39 (Universal Atlas, *Lond.*, 1808), and the town is written *Kirkleesan.*

A still more recent traveller, Lieut.-General Jochmus, whose interesting 'Notes on a Journey to the Balkan, or Mount Hæmus, from Constantinople,' were

[1] See Arrowsmith's Map of the "Environs of Constantinople," London, 1801-4; also Cary's 'Universal Atlas,' London, 1808, No. 9: this last gives "Kirkleesan," but not Bunarhissar.

[2] Clarke's Travels, vol. viii. p. 97, 8vo. edit. London, 1818.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 215, 216.

abstracted and read by myself to the meeting of the British Association at Hull,[1] states, that at *Bunarhissar*, in October, 1847, he searched for "the ancient inscription with letters like 'nails,' mentioned by Herodotus, in *Melpomene*, cap. 19," and which Abdallah Aga, in that town, described to him as being in "ancient Syrian or Assyrian (*Eski Souriani*)," and which he "maintained having seen in the *Tekeh* every day for upwards of the eight years which he passed there as a Dervish."[2] He was unsuccessful, and concluded that the stela itself had been broken to pieces, pounded, and used for lime, according to a very common custom with the Turks.

The General was, however, more fortunate in determining the many limpid *sources* of the Tearus,—which Herodotus enumerates at no fewer than *thirty-eight*, —to be near *Bunarhissar*, which in Turkish means 'Fountain castle;' and not, as Dr. E. D. Clarke previously supposed, as being in the vicinity of *Kirk Iklisiè*—that is distant about twenty miles to the north-west. These have been incorrectly called *Teara Sugi*, or 'Teara's waters,' by the distinguished Von Hammer.

[1] See Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Hull, 1853, p. 85.

[2] General Jochmus's Paper was read to the Geographical Society on November 28th, 1853, and is now published with his Map in the 24th Vol. of the Journal of that Society, where at p. 44 this account is given, though in words somewhat altered from the original MS. (January, 1856.)

XIX.—FURTHER ACCOUNT OF ASSYRIAN AND EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES IN TURKEY, WITH A NOTICE OF THE ROMAN REMAINS AT DAMASCUS.

BY JOHN HOGG, M.A., F.R.S., FOR. SEC. R.S.L., ETC.

(Read Nov. 22nd and Dec. 13th, 1854.)

In my former paper 'On some Ancient Assyrian and Egyptian Sculptures and Inscriptions in Turkey,' I mentioned that I was endeavouring to obtain a more exact account of the mound called *Tell e' Salahyeh*, near Damascus, and, if possible, to procure the sculptured slab found there, and have it sent to this country for the British Museum, or else to have a cast taken from it.

The Rev. J. L. Porter has kindly communicated to me, in a letter from *Bludán*, in Antilibanus, now *Gebel e' Sharky*, to the north-west of Damascus, dated July 4th, 1854, some further details, which I have now the pleasure to make known to the Society, in the following extracts from his interesting letter:—

"A short time ago I rode to the artificial mound called *Tell e' Salahyeh*, to endeavour to secure the Assyrian bas-relief which I had formerly seen there. To my great surprise and disappointment I found that it had been removed in the interval, but where and when no person could or would inform me. I was

obliged immediately afterwards to remove from the city to my summer residence here, and was consequently unable to make any inquiries on the subject; but I hope ere long to be able to trace the sculpture. I made, during my visit, a very careful examination of the mound itself. It is situated on the left bank of the river Barada, in the midst of an extensive and fertile plain. It appears that, originally, there was a platform of sun-dried bricks, from eight to nine hundred yards in circumference, and about 20 feet high. The side of this is washed by the river, and has in one place been carried away to the depth of several yards, thus exposing the regular layers of brickwork. In the centre of this platform was some great structure, which could not have been less than 150 to 200 feet high. The ruins now form a pyramid whose base covers the greater part of the platform. Its sides are covered with the loose *débris* of crumbling bricks, broken pottery, &c. A modern graveyard occupies a portion of the summit.[1] A small village is situated at the western base of the mound, and the sculpture lay between the village and it. During a previous visit I had been informed that a *second* sculptured slab lay within the

[1] It is remarkable that the celebrated American biblical scholar and traveller, Dr. Ed. Robinson, scarcely more than two years ago, visited the *Tell e' Salahyeh*, and had a fine view from the burial ground, or *Wely* on its summit, without noticing what the mound, or *Tell*, itself really was. In his Memoir published in the 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' p. 37, for October, 1853, he writes:—"We ascended (June 7th, 1852) the ridge back of *Salahyeh*, and enjoyed from the *Wely* at the top, the glorious prospect of the city (Damascus) and plain, so justly celebrated; and also looked down into the remarkable gorge by which the river here breaks through the last ridge of Anti-Lebanon." (*J. H.*)

village walls, partly under the wall of a house; but by all my inquiries lately I was unable to learn anything, either of this or the other which I had seen. I am inclined to believe that an examination (by excavation) of the mound itself would bring to light some monuments of great interest. It is not probable that such a massive structure would be reared up of brick alone. The chambers and halls may have been ornamented like those of Nimroud or Koyunjik. The bas-relief of which I have spoken, and several large blocks of hewn stone in the river and in the modern villages, give strong probability to this supposition. The regular form of the mound shows that it has gradually crumbled down, and has not been destroyed by the hand of man. It would be interesting to excavate it, and important discoveries *might be* the result. A single tunnel, carried to the centre of the mound, *on a level with the platform*, would show at once whether the interior contained any remains of antiquity.

"The first time I visited the mound, now some years ago, I made a sketch of the sculpture. The book in which this sketch is drawn is at present in Damascus; but I give you on the margin a very rough representation from memory. You will observe that the head-dress is broken off. The beard is purely Assyrian, but the robe is short, and in this espect differs from most of the igures of monarchs on the sculp-ures of Nineveh. The *croix ansée* in the right hand, nd the long staff in the left, are frequently found on

Assyrian monuments. The figure is much injured from long exposure to the weather. There is no inscription *now* visible. The general attitude of the figure and character of the sculpture resemble the basreliefs on the rocks at the Nahr el Kelb, which I have frequently seen, and which I again visited and closely examined last month.

"The mound of Salahyeh is not the only one in the plain of Damascus. There are several others, though much smaller. There are also a few in the Bukâ'a (*Cœle-Syria*), and there are some eight or ten in the plain of Homs (*Emesa*), near the banks of the river 'Asy, the ancient Orontes. I have visited almost all of them, and have no hesitation in ascribing their origin to the *Assyrians*. A careful examination of all these remains will, no doubt, one day be made, and then new light will be thrown on the history of Assyrian dominion in 'Aram of Damascus,' as well as on the Sacred Scriptures. Also the Rev. Mr. Barnett has discovered some tablets bearing *cuneiform* characters, though much defaced, in a ravine where there exist traces of an ancient road," a little to the south of Akurah, in the Lebanon. This is the upper part of the deep valley, through which the Nahr Ibrahim, or the ancient river Adonis, descends to the sea, the embouchure of which is only seven miles north of the Lycus.

Next, with regard to the *Roman antiquities* still remaining *in* Damascus, most travellers either *omit* all mention of them, or assert that *none* are at this day to be observed. But Mr. W. R. Hamilton, one of our Vice-Presidents, has given in Vol. III. (*1st Series*), p. 479, of our Transactions, a description of the 'Remains

of a Temple in Damascus,' which he saw adjoining to a mosque, more than half a century ago, and which he believed to be "the *only known* monument of Damascus during the period of the early emperors of Rome." On this subject Mr. Porter observes:—

"You have referred to the *Roman* remains in Damascus, and have stated that details respecting them would be of value. I quite agree with you. These ruins have occupied my attention and some of my spare hours for a considerable period, and I believe I am the only man who has thoroughly explored them. It is a work of no small difficulty to find out where they all lie, on account of the vast mass of modern structures that have been erected *upon* and *among* them. I was so fortunate, however, while prosecuting my researches, as to obtain a *most admirable and complete guide-book*—I mean the Great History of *Ibn e'-Sâker*. This rare and valuable MS. is in forty volumes small folio; it is *now* the property of one of the great schools or colleges in this city. It is, *I believe*, the only complete copy of the work in existence. Owing to the kindness of a friend—the head of a great Moslem family—I have the privilege of reading it, making extracts from it, or copying it, if I wish. The latter however is too laborious, and I have contented myself with the former.

"In this book I found a full description of the city when taken by the Moslems, with a history of its most important buildings. Guided by it, I explored the several quarters, and found remains of vast extent and great splendour. There is one temple in the city, a part of which is now the great Mosque, and was formerly the cathedral of St. John, which almost rivals in

extent and beauty the temples at Baalbek and Palmyra. A great part of it is still complete, or nearly so; and I have been able to obtain measurements and details, from which I can construct a plan of the whole. Near it are long colonnades, formerly enclosing squares and encompassing fine buildings. The ancient walls of Damascus are in many places nearly perfect, and can be traced in every part of their circuit. The eight Roman gates are still found, and form the *only* outlets from the city: six of these have their ancient arches perfect, or nearly so. There are not less than fourteen Roman arches in several parts of the city. The eastern and western gates were exactly alike. There was, and *still is*, a central arch, with two side arches in each; and between them extended (about a mile in length) the street 'called *Straight*.' On each side of this street was a Corinthian colonnade, the remains of which I have been able to trace in several places. Such are some of the *Roman* remains *in* Damascus, which travellers generally describe as almost wholly destitute of ruins."

Damascus, Dammesec, דַּמֶּשֶׂק, Damesek, or Damesk, *Δαμασκός*, *Δαμάσπολις*, *Damaspolis*, or the city of Damas, the "Head of Syria," or "Aram," אֲרָם (Isaiah vii. 8), is now called *Dimêshk*, and by the Arabs *E'Sham*, or *Syria*. This city, which is one of the most ancient still existing in the world (though probably *less so* than Sidon [1]), the "eye of the East," or the "city of the Sun," is resplendent at a distance with its white edifices, and is encircled by a perfect and a verdant forest of gardens watered by the fair river Abana, formerly the "golden stream," or the

[1] Compare Genesis, ch. x. ver. 19, with ch. xiv. ver. 15.

Chrysorrhoas,[1] and now the *Barada*, or *Barda*. And therefore the Arabic and other Oriental writers very elegantly and correctly liken it to "a pearl set in emeralds." Yet on passing through its gates its beauty vanishes, for its streets are narrow and *crooked; one*, however, excepted. And this *one*, extending in a direct line for about 1700 English yards from east to west,—if the city was rebuilt after the burning of it by *Timour* in A.D. 1400, according to its *ancient form*, or rather the *form* it possessed in the *first* century of our era,—is doubtless identical with the *Straight street*—ἡ Ῥύμη Εὐθεῖα, of the Acts of the Apostles (ch. ix. 11). With the natives it bears the name of *Derb e' Sultany*, 'the Sultan's way.' Mr. Porter considers it as running nearly in the line of the ancient *Via Recta;* and this would seem to be proved from the remains of a noble arch of Roman architecture still visible in about the middle of it, and from the numerous fragments of columns which are often dug up below its present level. Of the existing gates, the *Bab Sharky*, or 'Eastern Gate,' is Roman, having two side arches and a central one, of a solid but simple style. The 'Small Gate,' or *Bab e' Saghir*, is another Roman portal, and such is that to the north of it, now called the 'Garden Gate' (*Bab el Faradis*); at both these spots the city walls, often double, present great strength and thickness, having been erected or repaired at different periods. But the noblest remains of Ro-

[1] So it was in the days of Pliny the Naturalist, for he records,—*Damascus* ex epoto riguis amne *Chrysorrhoa* fertilis" (*lib.* v. *cap.* 3). See likewise Strabo, *lib.* xvi. *cap.* 2. And Julian mentions the γῶν ἀγλαΐα, καὶ ποταμῶν πλῆθος, καὶ γῆς εὐφορία, of the same well irrigated and fruitful spot.

man architecture still extant are the four Corinthian columns and piers that support a richly sculptured piece of a triumphal arch, situate to the west of the *Bab el Berid*,—the 'Gate of Berid' (a grandson of Uz), —which belongs to the Court of the Great Mosque. A lithographed view of them is given by Von Kremer in his able memoir just published, and entitled 'Topography of Damascus.'[1]

Mr. Porter further mentions, on the south side of the Great Mosque, a splendid doorway, highly ornamented, and which he considers as that of an ancient temple. Portions likewise of colonnades, south and north of the Mosque, have been traced by him, which would attest the former splendour of the ancient capital of Syria, under Grecian and Roman rule. And indeed the Emperor *Julian* speaks of the magnitude and beauty of its temples and sacred edifices.

The former cathedral of St. John the Baptist, supposed to have once been, or enlarged from, a noble heathen temple—now *Jamia el Amwy*, or *Omeiah*, meaning the 'Mosque of Omeiah,' or of 'the Omeiades'—is filled with granite and marble pillars brought from other parts of Syria and even from Egypt.

[1] *Vide* 'Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften,' 5 Band, Wien, 1854. This is the *first* part, and contains, besides the ruin of the Roman arch (table 3), a Plan (table 1) of the Great Mosque. The "Zweite Abtheilung," or *second* part, has been since published in the same 'Denkschriften,' 6 Band, 1855; and it has a good Plan of the City of Damascus. And while this paper was printing, Mr. Porter's 'Five Years in Damascus' has appeared. This instructive and clearly written work, embellished with a new map of Damascus, &c., gives also Plans of the City and of the Great Mosque, and a woodcut of the Triumphal Arch (vol. i. p. 62), which, though smaller and more finished, is much the same as that of Von Kremer. (January, 1856.)

Mr. Porter also discovered the following interesting fragment of an inscription upon a stone, which is turned upside down, and partly built upon by a wall, within the city of Damascus.

ЄΠΙΤΩΝΠΦΙΑΝΤΩΝΙΑΝΟΝ....
ΙΦΟΤΑΜΙΩΝΤΟΓΑΜΜΑΑΠΟΤΟΥ...
ΤΗCΑΜΑΕΗΑΑΤΟΥΟCΟΔΟΥ....
ΟΟΤΩΝΤΟΚΥΡΙΟΥ...
ΑΙΟ...

The reading of which I thus suggest:—

ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Ἀντωνιανὸν . . . . .
Ἱεροταμιῶν τὸ (ἄ)γαλμα ἀπὸ τοῦ . . .
τὰς ἁμαξηλάτους ὁδου(ς) . . . . .
ἐκ τῶν το(ῦ) κυρίου . . .
Αιο . . .

If this inscription commemorate the erection of a statue by the *sacred Quæstors* (*ἱεροταμίαι*) from the funds of the Lord Emperor, *ἐκ τῶν* (*sub.* *χρημάτων*) *το(ῦ) Κυρίου* (*Καίσαρος*), to an Emperor *Antoninus*,[1] it very probably relates to *M. Aurelius Antoninus*—generally named *Marcus Aurelius*—who, as is recorded in other existing inscriptions, restored the (*chariot*) *road* near Abila, in the district called Abilene, between Damascus and Heliopolis (*Baalbek*), and who likewise widened his own "Via *Antoniniana*," or "*Antonine* Way," as Maundrell calls it, on the coast close to the

[1] As a doubt may arise concerning the correctness of the word Ἀντωνιανόν, I must remark that the name Ἀντωνῖνος, and not the more usual Ἀντωνεῖνος, occurs in *Joannes Malalas*, Chron. lib. xi. So also in No. 10 of Porter's 'Greek Inscriptions from Syria,' &c., Trans. R. Soc. Lit. vol. v. pp. 247, 259.

river Lycus (*Nahr el Kelb*).[1] And to these the words *τὰς ἁμαξηλάτους ὁδους*, or *τῆς ἁμαξηλάτου ὃς ὁδοῦ*, would seem to bear reference.

Considering the vast antiquity of Damascus,—which Josephus assures us was built by Ousus,[2] or *Uz*, a grandson of Shem, and son of Aram, after whom it, as well as the inhabitants of that territory, were named,—it is no less remarkable that very few inscriptions, particularly Greek, have been brought to light in Damascus itself, than that scarcely any references to it are to be found in the classical writers, both Greek and Roman. Strabo briefly describes it as *πόλις ἀξιόλογος, σχεδόν τι καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτη*.[3]—Justin calls it "nobilissima civitas."[4] Pliny correctly terms it *fertilis*;[5] and *Lucan*, mentioning Syria, says:—

> "Accedunt Syriæ populi, desertus Orontes,
> Et felix, sic fama, Ninus:[6] ventosa *Damascus*."

But unfortunately the word *ventosa* seems to be faulty, for Probus reads it, without any reason, *ventura*; and Bentley[7] has well suggested *prunosa*, because Damascus was celebrated for its plums, called *Damascenes*, *Damasons*, or *Damsons*—the Pruna "Damascena, à Syriæ

[1] See pp. 39 and 45 of the 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xx.

[2] The historian's words are,—'Αραμαίους δὲ Ἄραμος ἔσχεν, οὓς Ἕλληνες Σύρους προσαγορεύουσιν . . . Τῶν δὲ Ἀράμου παίδων . . . Οὖσος μὲν κτίζει . . . Δαμασκόν.—Antiq. Jud. *lib.* 1, *cap.* 6, *s.* 4.

[3] Geogr. *lib.* 16, *cap.* 2.

[4] Hist. Phil. *lib.* 36, *cap.* 2.

[5] Nat. Hist. *lib.* 5, *cap.* 18.

[6] Pharsal. *lib.* 3, *v.* 216. The poet having here coupled *Ninus* with *Syria*, probably alluded to its capture by the Assyrians.

[7] See note 214, p. 173, to Bentley and Cumberland's Edition of Lucan. Strawberry Hill, 1760.

Damasco cognominata," of Pliny (Nat. Hist. xv. 13), and which are also recorded in Columella (lib. x. v. 404) thus:—" prunisque Damasci."[1]

Should any objection be made to *Bentley's* epithet " prunosa," inasmuch as that word does *not exist* in classical Latin,[2] I may substitute for it the epithet *frondosa*, as being not inappropriate, since the immediate district around Damascus is so covered with shady trees, and especially fruit-trees. So Statius has,

" Quod *ramis* pia germinat *Damascus*."[3]

In addition to the Damson-trees, the other fruit-trees, which mostly compose the forest of gardens in the plain of Damascus, are the apple, apricot, citron, date, fig, lemon, locust, olive, orange, peach, pear, pomegranate, vine, and walnut: and of these some *varieties* of the *fig* are excellent, and particularly famed.—The Emperor Julian, in a letter to his friend Serapion, to whom he had sent a present of *Damascene figs*, greatly praises that sort of fruit; and extolling the size and beauty of Damascus, which he calls the " City of Jupiter," thus sums up its many rare qualities.—*Ἴδει γὰρ, οἶμαι, τὴν Διὸς πόλιν ἀληθῶς, καὶ τὸν τῆς ἑώας ἁπάσης ὀφθαλμὸν· τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ μεγίστην Δάμασκον λέγω· τοῖς τε ἄλλοις σύμπασιν, οἷον ἱερων κάλλει, καὶ νεων μεγέθει, καὶ ὡρῶν εὐκαιρίᾳ, καὶ πηγῶν ἀγλαΐᾳ, καὶ ποταμῶν πλήθει, καὶ γῆς εὐφορίᾳ νικῶσαν.*[4]

[1] Martial (*lib.* 13. *ep.* 29) in his Epigram on " Pruna Damascena" recommends them to be taken for much the same reason as *Prunes* are with us.

[2] Nor is it to be found in ' Glossarium ad Scriptores mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis,' by Ducange, edit. *Par.* 1734; nor in the Supplement to that work, edit. *Par.* 1766.

[3] Syl. *lib.* i. vi. 14.

[4] Juliani Imp. Opera. *Par.* 1583, p. 209.

And in concluding his letter, Mr. Porter writes:—"I sometimes meet with Arabic MSS. of rarity and value as illustrative of the History of Damascus, Syria, and the Mohammedan empire generally. I purchase as many as I can afford to do myself, but there are many beyond my means, which would be great acquisitions to the Library of any College, Museum, or Society in England. It is a pity to lose an opportunity of securing them. Many of them are at present being purchased for the Royal Library at Berlin."

In the paper I read on November 23, 1853, I brought before the Society the bold and even startling declaration of M. de Saulcy, respecting what he called "the *forgery* of the *Egyptian* bas-reliefs" at the *Nahr el Kelb*, and I expressed my "strong conviction of their *genuineness*." But, as I had *not seen* the original tablets, I could not venture to give any further opinion. I am happy to find, that a French traveller of distinction, the Count de Bertou, who had himself been in Syria, and had visited, and had drawn these ancient sculptures, advocated in much stronger terms their *authenticity*, in a letter, which he this spring addressed to M. de Saulcy. This able "Lettre à M. de Saulcy sur les Monuments *Egyptiens* du Nahr el Kelb," is published in the April *livraison*, of the present year, of the 'Revue Archéologique:' in it M. de Bertou well observes, "J'aime donc à espérer que *vous proclamerez vous-même* qu'il y a peu de monuments dont *l'existence soit mieux attestée* que celle des bas-reliefs *Egyptiens* du Nahr el Kelb" (p. 9).

I have now much pleasure in adding, that M. de Saulcy—though after an unnecessary delay of *five* months—has replied to this excellent letter of the

Count de Bertou (not indeed in the *same* ably-conducted periodical, but) in the 'Athenæum Français' for September 23, 1854, and he has at length therein admitted the *existence* of the *Egyptian* tablets. De Saulcy thus allows "l'existence de tableaux dont j'ai eu tort de nier aussi résolûment la présence. Je fais donc amende honorable de très grand cœur" (p. 902).

Lastly, I may here take the opportunity of mentioning, as an *addendum* to my same paper, "On some ancient Assyrian and Egyptian Sculptures and Inscriptions in Turkey,"—the discovery of *another Egyptian* bas-relief by the Count de Bertou, at Adlûn, between Tyre (*Súr*) and Sidon (*Saida*), nearly halfway between them, on the coast of Phœnicia. The Count thus describes it (p. 9, Rev. Arch., 15 Avril, 1854):—"Le bas-relief Egyptien d'*Adloun* est plus fruste encore que ceux du Nahr el Kelb, et son cadre, au lieu d'être rectangulaire comme le sont ceux que vous avez vus dans cette première localité, est cintré au sommet." A figure of it is given at No. 3, Plate 232, of the same number of the Rev. Arch.; its subject seems to be much the same as that represented in No. 3 of Bonomi's figures (Pl. 2) Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature (Vol. III. 4to.)

At p. 12, Count de Bertou adds this explanation of his fig. 3, pl. 232:—"Le bas-relief No. 3 est celui de la Nécropole d'*Adloun;* il est plus fruste encore que ceux du Nahr el Kelb, et il faut le chercher dans de très-bonnes conditions de lumière pour l'apercevoir. Depuis Hérodote, personne n'avait plus fait mention de cette *stèle* Égyptienne destinée à perpétuer le souvenir du passage de Sésostris sur la côte de Phénicie, quand j'eus le bonheur de la retrouver au pied des

rochers d'*Adloun* et à quelques pas des grands tombeaux monolithes qui, par leur forme de pyramide tronquée, rappellent les monuments funéraires de Petra."

The account referred to in Herodotus, I conclude, is that in chapter 106, *Euterpe*, where that author states that he had himself seen in Palestine some of the *stelæ* which Sesostris (Ramses II.) placed in the conquered districts, together with their inscriptions.

Yet, strictly speaking, I think the drawing of M. de Bertou can scarcely be said to represent a *stela* (στήλη), but a sepulchral monument with an arched entrance leading through its basement.

This discovery of the Egyptian tablet at Adlûn was previously made known, with a drawing of it, in an 'Essay on the Topography of Tyre,' by that traveller.[1]

Dr. Robinson recognized at Adlûn the site of some ancient town, with many sepulchral grottoes hewn in the limestone rock,[2] which may, most likely, be identified with the *Ornithon*, or *'Ορνίθων πόλις*, of Strabo and Pliny. Dr. Pococke mentions (vol. ii. p. 84) the same spot under the name of *Adnou* (ad nonum milliarium).

We must, however, hope that some English traveller,—so many now annually pass along this part of the coast of Syria,—will make a careful search among the ruins and grottoes at *Adlûn*, to determine whether or not this *Egyptian* sculpture—which the Count de Bertou claims to himself the honour of having discovered—exists in any state of preservation at this day; and if so, to ascertain more particularly the cha-

[1] 'Essai sur la Topographie de Tyr,' Paris, 1853, p. 86, par J. de Bertou; but which I have not seen.

[2] See 'Biblical Researches in Palestine,' vol. iii. p. 411.

racter of the bas-relief, for I believe that it is now many years since (1838) this French traveller visited the place, and five years before the time in which Von Wildenbruch[1] searched in vain for the same monument.

[1] Ritter (Die Erdkunde, 17 Theil, 1854, p. 363) remarks, "Hiebei ist zu bemerken, dass es V. Wildenbruch, ungeachtet mühsamer Nachforschungen, nicht gelingen wollte (1843), diese *Ægyptische Stele* in der Nekropolis zu *Adlûn* wieder aufzufinden; doch hält er ihr Dasein nicht für unmöglich, da die Zahl der Grüfte ausserordentlich gross sei."—(*Vide* V. Wildenbruch, in Monats-Berichten der Berl. Geogr. Gesell., I., 1844, s. 87.)

XX.—THE CENTRAL GROUP OF THE PANATHENAIC FRIEZE.

BY W. W. LLOYD, ESQ.

(Read January 10 and February 14, 1855.)

THE general subject of the frieze in low relief, that crowns the exterior of the cella of the Parthenon, is admitted, as generally as anything ever is or need be, to be the Panathenaic procession. In detail it agrees with the memorials of that great celebration, and its appropriateness is obvious on broad consideration, and still more so on special,—as we shall see.

The Athenians solemnized the great periodical festival of their goddess with a procession, here represented on her chief temple; and the principal symbol displayed on the occasion, was the large embroidered peplus, which we shall see introduced in a central group. The movement of the groups is from the west end of the temple, the nearest to the entrance to the Acropolis, along the north and south sides, and so converging eastward towards the entrance to the Naos. The various motives of such a festivity are combined with the freshest invention and the freest power of drawing and command of expression: whether the figures are in leisurely preparation, hasty falling in, scattered but closing-up array, stately procession, or speedy career, the same ceremonial tone dominates

both their order and their haste, till, as we pass along observant of these livelier phases, we are conscious, on approaching the chief front, of the growth of a stiller deliberateness of ritual composure, the gravity of the delegates of the state, and the orderers of religious decorum and procedure. At last, facing either way towards the advancing groups and the providently engrossed officials, we arrive at symmetrical assemblages, which from proportion and design are evidently of superior nature,—the heroic or the divine. Seated, observant and interested, they display in gestures, attitudes and draperies, the feeling of tranquil contemplation and a propitious reception of the marshalled throng. There are six on either side, besides two younger figures grouped with them, and, though seated, are as high as the standing figures of the rest of the composition.

Between these two symmetrical groups, again, and cut off by them from the general procession and its attendants, and thus gaining some of the seclusion of the very sanctuary as they are exactly in front of the door of the temple, is a human group of five figures, —a matron instructing and setting forth two girls, and a boy receiving from a man of advanced years the folded peplus.

This central composition, then, of the seated twelve and the sacred ministers, becomes thus the very eye and focus of the entire design, and the bestowal of study upon it has been sustained and recurrent accordingly. The titles and functions of priest or priestess, nd the names and appropriateness of the gods or ,ddesses, heroes or heroines, have been canvassed ver with short intermission; and, as will be inferred, here are difficulties of assignment that afford fair neu-

tral ground for clashing hypothesis and even controversy.

Many names and notions pertaining had, however, been long so far agreed to as to seem safe from question, when a few years since an attempt,—bold, ingenious, almost paradoxical,—was suddenly made to give them an entirely new interpretation. This emanated from Dr. Emil Braun, in an Italian letter to Mr. Hamilton, as secretary of the Society of Dilettanti: and I must confess that for a moment I assented to more of the heresy than I now care to recall. The assault however roused a more inflexible champion; and Professor Welcker, though reluctantly withdrawn from pressing and important literary labours, could not refuse some valuable hours for the rescue of the Gods of Phidias. His observations, I apprehend, did their work too completely upon the peccant hypothesis, to render it necessary to revive it merely to be slain again. At the same time he enunciated his own views, and to these is due the present essay, which might, perhaps, be confined with advantage to a translation of his conclusions. They have led me, however, to certain considerations and conclusions of my own, that are not always coincident with them; and I have no choice but to set these forth, at the same time that I endeavour to do justice to the opinions of my distinguished friend.

Few words will suffice to recall the leading features of the great Athenian festival. The Lesser Panathenæa were celebrated yearly; the Greater, at an interval of four years, at the summer solstice,—the beginning of July, like the Olympic festival, which this preceded by a year.

The title Panathenæa expresses, by the analogy of Pan-Ionia and Pan-Hellenia, the reunion of all the branches of the Athenian people; but it was further regarded as the special commemoration of the historical combination of scattered communities round the Athenian Acropolis by Theseus, if not the still earlier union of Athens and Eleusis under Erechtheus, or Erichthonius, for the names are equivalent.

The four days of the celebration were occupied by the usual incidents of the great Hellenic festivals, horse-races and gymnastic contests in various forms; and then with recitations of Homeric poetry, with musical contests in the Odeum (an institution of Pericles), and with a torch race. The great procession took place on the last day; the entire population was represented in it by young and old, of either sex, and chosen not without consideration of beauty appropriate to years,—the armed and mounted youth, the city's pride and strength, being naturally conspicuous; resident aliens, and even emancipated barbarian slaves, had some part or assistance assigned to them, and the colonists and subject cities brought sacrificial oxen: coloured costume was prohibited, and spectators as well as members of the procession were clothed in white.

As the procession started from the Ceramicus, the peplus, prepared during the interval of the recurring festival by aid of consecrated maidens, was displayed as the sail of a ship, of full size, moved by covert machinery, and was borne along to the Eleusinium and the Pythium,—sanctuaries of the Eleusinian goddesses and of Apollo; thence it was taken up to the Acropolis, to be dedicated to the goddess, by being, it

would seem, in the first instance at least, laid upon the knees of the seated archaic statue of Athene Polias that was preserved in the Erechtheum. The peplus is always alluded to as the centre of the procession, the great object of admiration and curiosity ; it was embroidered with the exploits ascribed to the goddess, especially in the Giganto-machia, and as protectress of Hercules or Theseus, and a place was provided among them for the valiant deeds of Athenians themselves,— " worthy of their country and of the peplus."

A hecatomb, and the feast that it implies, concluded all; and the Athenian citizen was dismissed home,—sated for a time, if he ever might be, with excitement and exertion.

Such is a sketch of the externals of the occasion; the fuller associations of tradition that were called up by or clung about it, will be most conveniently adverted to in the exposition of the conclave on the frieze,— their concentrated expression.

Of the authorities for the design, the chief and most important are the original slabs, preserved in the Elgin Saloon of the British Museum, together with the casts of one slab that remains at Athens, and of another fragment that has disappeared. The drawings executed by Jacques Carrey, in 1674, are next in importance, as they supply the outline of one figure, of which we have no other trace. They were made at a time when the reliefs were less injured than at present, but too hastily to allow us to take their evidence implicitly; they have, however, as far as they go, the great merit of representing the original sketches, free from later working up or influence of theory. This is not quite the case with the engravings of Stuart, which

precisely in the part we are concerned with, challenge rather close scrutiny in respect of biassed restoration.

No trace of inscriptions is now to be detected, and it is scarcely consistent with the spirit of the period and the art that any were ever applied. A few emblems and attributes remain—welcome aid to identification,—and some symbolical attitudes or gestures may be recognized; but for the rest we are left to interpret characteristic expression and deportment, either negatively or positively, and to make what deductions we may, from the companionship of the uncertain with the known, and from the symbolical requirements of the festival and the procession.

Homer, or his interpolator if it must be so, (*Iliad*, ii. 545,) furnishes the earliest notice of the Panathenaic, or, as it was originally styled, Athenaic festival. He speaks of Athens as the "realm of magnanimous Erechtheus, whom on a time Athene nurtured,—life-giving Aroura (corn-land) brought him forth,—and seated him at Athens in her own temple; there the Athenian youth propitiate him with bulls and rams, as the years revolve." Accordingly, to the latest times, the Erechtheum and the Temple of Athene Polias formed a single building, the depository of the most sacred and archaic statue of the goddess, and it was hither that the peplus was finally conducted and dedicated. The frieze exhibits the Athenian youth, the bulls and the rams, and at the extreme right of he groups we have to discuss, we recognize in the oyal boy with the sceptre the hero Erechtheus. The ıge at which he is represented is chosen as expressive f the functions of his protectress. Numerous vase

paintings illustrate the Homeric passage, and present Aroura, or Ge, half-emergent from earth and holding up the infant Erechtheus, who is received by Athene his foster-mother, not without significant allusion, in a peplus.

The Homeric passage quoted is followed up by a notice of the excellence of Menestheus, the Athenian king, in arraying horses and armed men; not, perhaps, without reference to the effective equestrian element of the procession, which in late times engaged the attention of another distinguished Athenian cavalry officer, Xenophon.

Again, in the Odyssey, Athene proceeds to Athens and retires into the close house of Erechtheus. This passage (vii. 81) has been pressed on somewhat hardly and literally in recent speculations; but, whatever we may think at last of the notion of Professor Thiersch, that the plan of a royal palace is still traceable in the little Erechtheum, the fairness of the inference is not to be gainsaid, that in the early monarchical times the stronghold of the Acropolis was not only the seat of the most sacred objects of worship, of the treasury and garrison, but also the proper residence of the hereditary ruler and his family. Thus at Troy,—and the analogies are very close between Trojan and Attic legend,—the palaces of Priam and the princes of the blood are on the Acropolis; and there also is the temple whither Hecuba proceeds to offer "the large and beaming peplus, laying it across the lap of the fair-tressed Athene."

The regal associations were continued in tradition; and in the localized traditions of the Acropolis we find that the heroines—wives and daughters of the mythic

kings—are leading personages; the lapse, or misfortune, or glory of Creusa, the birth of Ion, the heroism of the daughters of Erechtheus, the tempting and fall of the daughters of Cecrops, and the youth of Erechtheus, all belong to the same place.

These mythic heroines appear to be represented in aftertimes by the four maidens of noble family, between seven and eleven years old, who, styled ἀρρηφόροι, were lodged for a year on the Acropolis, and occupied in the service of the goddess. Two of them, called respectively Cosmo and Trapezo, at the return of the festival, had certain objects placed on their heads by the priestess, with which they descended to a peribolus in the city, and took back something else equally a secret to them, but by no means to the commentators, if we believe them, in exchange. The other two were specially engaged, with other feminine assistance, in the preparations of the peplus, commencing at the festival of Chalkeia, which was common to Hephæstus and Athene. This latter function was carried on by them under the supervision of the Archon Basileus and his wife, the Basilinna, titles that furnish another trace of antique tradition of royal usage. They were clothed in white, with ornaments of gold, and had a place of exercise and residence on the Acropolis, if not in the Parthenon. Now, if the Erechtheum is at least mythically identified with the lodgings of Erechtheus, as necessarily does the Parthenon appear the type of the aboriginal παρθενών—the lodging of the royal maidens; and the statue that pertained to it would represent a corresponding ideal, with none of the maternal associations of Athene Polias, but especially the virgin goddess, Athene

Parthenos and Ergane, inventress and patroness of the arts of weaving and embroidery, who, in the Iliad (viii. 385), both made and embellished the peplus she wears.

In comparing this account with the group on the frieze, we find a general agreement that confirms the application, though the artist either intentionally treated the subject freely, or our information lacks some details. We may recognize the Archon Basileus and the Basilinna, but we find only one pair of damsels, and a boy seems substituted for the others. Each girl has charge of a stool or light table, with something covered up upon it, and carries it upon her head, which is protected by a τύλη, or little pad, interposed. The legs of the tables are broken away, but the marble shows distinctly their traces and points of attachment, and it is clearly in error that one of them appears restored in some engravings as a torch. There is a little uncertainty as to the action of the left arm of the girl in profile, in consequence of the damaged condition of the part; the marble shows a projection below her elbow (accurately represented in the British Museum engravings), which I cannot explain or understand.

No literary notice has been traced of the companion boy, but his presence is sufficiently elucidated by analogy elsewhere; thus at Elatea, in Phocis, Athene Kranaia is served by a consecrated boy, who, for five years anterior to attainment of puberty, had residence and provision in the precinct of her temple: the statue of the goddess was in fighting attitude, and her shield was copied from that of the chryselephantine statue in the Parthenon. Again at Tegea, in Arcadia,

a boy of the same age officiated as priest of Athene Alea. (Paus. x. 34, 4. and viii. 47, 2.)

The relations of this group, so prominently placed, explain therefore the special reference of the peplus to the goddess of the Parthenon, though it was ultimately dedicated in the temple of Athene Polias. The commencement of the work at the festival of Chalkeia is illustrative, for the association of the goddess with Hephæstus sufficiently indicates the artistic reference, this god being her constant associate in protection of skilled and ingenious work, whether in metal or what else (Hom., *Hymn. Vul.*). From this quarter moreover we have light cast upon the more recondite symbolism of the peplus, as a type of the power that clothes nature in her brilliant garment after winter desolation, and arrays even humanity in its form of beauty and delight. In Hesiodic legend, it is Athene who arrays Pandora, the work of Hephæstus; and on a remarkable vase-painting we see her disposing the graceful peplus in company with the god, around the figure, now defined by the title Ænesidora, which is often appropriated to the earth she sprang from and personifies. And thus we arrive at the sentiment and pertinence of the design with which Phidias enriched the base of the chryselephantine statue of the goddess,—the introduction of Pandora to the assembly of the gods, an elevation of the technical to a truly demiurgic ideal.

The attachment of the peplus in the form of a sail to the Panathenaic ship, and the introduction into the pomp, of the ship itself, find manifold explanation from this point of view. Even in the Iliad, Athene appears as the protectress of the shipwright; the Trojan craftsman, expressively named Harmonides, who built

the fatal fleet of Paris, owed his ill-employed talents to her favour. So, again, she superintended the building of the Argo, the type of the first ship, and on a bas-relief we find her represented, engaged in fitting the mainsail to the yard. These functions could not be forgotten at Athens, the prime naval power of the world; and the expression they found in the great celebration was as natural as it was ingenious and effective.

Passing onwards to the left, I follow frequent precedent and the confirmation of Welcker, in recognizing Zeus and Here enthroned, and Hebe standing beside her mother, as in the Heræon at Argos. The marble shows a portion of a sceptre crossing the forearm of the god, and a drill-hole between his finger and thumb seems to mark the attachment, or intended attachment, of its continuation; the other end should have appeared from behind his neck, but no trace can now be discerned. The arm of the throne is supported by a sphinx,—too ordinary a detail to be insisted on curiously, though it corresponds here with the throne of the great Olympic statue. The shape of the fractured slab behind the head of Hebe, has led some restorers or draughtsmen to endow her with wings; but the surface is smooth, and, I believe, the mere background,—the rest of the costume shows that no drapery is in question.

The presence of Zeus, as the chief of the gods, vindicates itself, and, whatever specialty may attach to it, will doubtless come before us as we review the significant participation of the less imposing powers.

The female figure of the next group is recognized, with a certainty that even Braun does not contravene,

as the great goddess of Eleusis, Demeter. The matronly dignity of the figure is suitable, and the large torch that she holds—a prominent Eleusinian symbol—is quite decisive. The large finished engravings of Stuart exhibit this figure as male and with a venerable beard, and this is an instructive warning against relying too much on his authority elsewhere. The representation on a smaller scale, in his synoptical plate of the general frieze, presents the smooth feminine face which is required by the costume and conspicuous contours of figure. The head is much battered, and the features are entirely obliterated, and probably were so when Stuart took his sketch; though this must have been but hasty, or so considered by him afterwards, to have allowed him to work it up so unluckily into a Jupiter.

Demeter determined, the youth who is seated by her can be no other than Triptolemus, the son of Celeus of Eleusis, to whom she first revealed her mysteries, and committed the knowledge of bread-corn, to be by him disseminated over the earth. In numerous ancient designs, he is seen seated or standing in a miraculous car, which is either drawn by serpents or automatous with winged wheels. Phidias has substituted a natural motive that is equally expressive, and the equilibrated body, embraced knee, and both feet lifted off the ground, remind us of the traditional representations that they interpret, by signs more consistent with the style of his art. The left foot is crossed, between the ankle and the heel, by the portion of a staff, that is not continued visibly elsewhere, above or below. We must conceive it as passing along the inner side of the leg, under the drapery,

and so along the right side, to take a counter-pressure against the back of the right arm or shoulder; the little bit of staff that is seen, is quite enough to communicate to the figure a steadiness in harmony with the repose of the group.

Of the next pair of male figures, the first sits opposite to Demeter, and so close that his feet are on either side of hers, which pass beside or underneath his seat. He is seated back to back with his companion, but leans familiarly upon his shoulders, and turns his head to look in the same direction, towards the procession.

We cannot avoid the inference that these two companion gods or heroes are in some sense correlative; and also, that they have some peculiar relation to Demeter. The assignment of names and functions which shall fulfil these conditions, is a delicate task, and requires all available aid and possible caution, from the defective delineations that have gained acceptation. Stuart named the pair the Dioscuri, and no names it would appear could better account for the similarity in diversity of their gestures and juxtaposition, than those of the associated and alternating twins. Welcker adds the weight of his authority to other important opinions; and when I marked the further combination that the Dioscuri were said by Callias the Daduchus, to have been the first foreigners to whom Triptolemus communicated the benefits of Demeter (Xenophon, *Hellen.* VI. iii. 6), I felt all the satisfaction of a secure and sufficient elucidation. Good reasons, however, must perforce give way to better, and such I believe are the following.

The outline of Müller and Osterley represents the

heads of the figures as covered, each with a close skullcap with rather broad band, sufficiently resembling the pileus of the Dioscuri, and these are traceable back to the authority of Stuart's engravings. The heads on the marble are too much dilapidated to be brought in evidence; but when we notice that the outer of the two figures holds a petasus upon his lap, we can scarcely suppose that he had a pileus on his head, or that this had any other origin than the restoring imagination of Stuart, exercised upon the smooth closeness about the crown of hair confined, as in other figures of the group, by a fillet. The drawings of the frieze by Carrey, rude as they are, are quite in favour of both figures having a free head of hair. Carrey, like Stuart, gives them both smooth chins, but the British Museum publication says, that the inner one has a "short crisp beard," but scarcely enough now remains of the broken chin to bear this out,—I know no other authority for it. The same figure wears sandal-soles, while his companion has his feet covered with short boots, that partly envelope the leg. These, however, again are undecisive differences, —on vases, for instance, it is not unusual to find the sons of Leda, one smooth-chinned and one bearded, and with other subordinate contrasts.

The boots however and the petasus already direct our attention to Hermes, and another detail is well-nigh decisive. The right hand of the figure is crossed over towards the spectator, and rests upon the left knee, and between the finger and thumb is marked a drill hole, which certainly served for the attachment of some object held short. The position of the hand shows that it could not have been a sceptre; a sword

is inadmissible on any theory, and, if only by mere process of exhaustion, though in truth with the encouragement of other probabilities, we are brought if not bound to conclude for a caduceus. After a considerable struggle, and in the face of all my prepossessions, I found myself, then, constrained by the critical recognition of first authorities, to concede to my own analysis that this figure necessarily must be either Hermes himself, or, if not, some hero so closely connected with him as to be entitled to assume his attributes and semblance.

Bearing in mind now the premised conditions of our problem, we find that Hermes connects himself with Demeter and Eleusinian associations, as the father of Ceryx (Kerux), the Herald, and ancestor of the gens of Ceryces, hereditary priests of the goddess. The Ceryces at once lead us to the fellow tribe of Eumolpidæ of even superior dignity, with whom they shared the leading administration of the mysteries, and were assessors in the court that took cognizance of impiety or sacrilege, upon principles of unwritten equity. The eponymous ancestors of these families, whether gods or heroes, are respectively personifications of the functions pertaining to Greek sacred rites, —the sacrificial, which in the Iliad are frequently administered by heralds, and the vocal, which are represented in the Pæan, sung at the sacrifice to Apollo at Chrysa (Iliad, i. 473). Ceryx and Eumolpus then would seem to be fitting members of an Eleusinian group along with Triptolemus, who was claimed as ancestor by another family of functionaries, but that we might seem bound to substitute Hermes for his descendant; and then the question arises, whether

Eumolpus, a simple hero, is sufficiently dignified for his bearing and position with the god and goddess on either side. Eumolpus was said to be son of Poseidon, as Kerux of Hermes, and Pausanias found Poseidon worshipped at Eleusis, as Patrous. May we, therefore, substitute Poseidon for his son, and perhaps find suggestion for his peculiar grouping with Demeter, in the mystic traditions that were prevalent of his passion and its consequences, especially in the Eleusinia of Arcadia? The greatest objection to this view is not, perhaps, that the sculpture does not support the Poseidonian ideal in flowing beard; yet this, I conceive, must be decisive, and turn us back upon the first opinion, that declares for heroes. Thus far I have worked on my way holding evidence I think ever by the hand, but further I am not minded to go, and will wait the encouragement or the suggestion of some other critic on the ground hitherto passed over.

I do not hesitate however to deduce from the analysis, truncated though it be, the specific reference of these four figures to Eleusis, and implicitly to that aspect of the Panathenaic celebration, that regarded the union of Athens with Eleusis as typical of the organic unity of the combined and assembled,—the Panathenaic state.

The authorities for the corresponding composition to the right, are, first, the marbles in our Museum for the two first figures, which answer in position to the Zeus and Here on the left; the heads and general surface have suffered very much, but for our present purpose are perhaps sufficiently distinct, and the drawings furnish no additional hints or information.

The original marble of the next three figures has recently been discovered at Athens, but has not escaped mutilation since. The cast of it, in the Elgin Saloon, was taken from it in the more perfect state. The drawing of Carrey is the sole authority for the greater portion of the next female figure, which it is too probable was deliberately battered from the face of the slab; a cast of her hand, and of the figure of the youth over whose shoulder it points, is preserved, but the fragment of the slab shows the trace of the obliterated sculpture. The fourth figure forward on the frieze from this point was similarly treated,—the slab shows where it has been entirely chipped off, it would seem with the motive to enhance the value of a mould. The cast presented to the Museum by Sir Francis Chantrey, and inserted in the wall, was found and obtained by him at Paris.

I agree with Welcker and other predecessors in claiming the youth, whose sceptre seems a type of royalty, for Erechtheus, whom the verses of the Homeric catalogue associate so intimately with the periodical festival of his foster-mother Athene. I also agree with Welcker again, in recognizing the two goddesses who are grouped in companionship and common interest and attention, as the foster-mother, and Aroura, or her equivalent Ge Kourotrophos, the mother. In the assignment of names I differ; I think it most congruous that the goddess who took charge of the youth, and even lodged him in her temple, should be most immediately grouped with him; the pointing female figure, therefore, I would call Athene, and Ge the other, upon whose knee she leans.

Nothing is more probable than that the sculptor in selecting the most significant types for his composition was guided by some sacred, or traditional, or lyric poem, as familiar to the Athenians as Homer is to us and in the mind of every original spectator. Failing this commentary at the present time, we are fain to explore what documentary evidence we have of the prevalent myths, and shall be fortunate if we can trace, as there is much encouragement to regard as possible, at least the leading lines and scattered members of the version of ever-varying mythology that was preferred. Thus, it is well known that Erechtheus or Erichthonius was in some accounts, after a certain fashion and in a mystic sense, the offspring of Athene herself,—a virgin parturient, and Hephæstus was his father. The foster-mothers, to whom the infant is confided in this case, are the daughters of Cecrops; and the imprudent curiosity of two of them frustrates the divine intention of rendering the child immortal. Some have proposed to call the two goddesses of the sculpture these rash Cecropidæ, but, I apprehend, without any justifying point of view; the omission of Herse, the third, is not easily accounted for, and the contour of the figure that remains on the slab is scarcely that of a maiden.

It is important to remark the general correspondence of the Athenian and Eleusinian traditions of primæval intercourse with their respective deities. Demophon at Eleusis is fostered by a goddess like Erechtheus at Athens, and, like him, only lost the destiny of immortality through feminine prying and restlessness; and tradition carries up the origin of humanity,—only weakened and disinherited by the

link of the heroic, even to the divine, and rests there at last in reliance on original favour for protection to the lower condition, and even for recovery of primitive destinies. The Homeric hymn to Eleusinian Demeter that narrates the disaster, concludes with the institution by the placated goddess of the forms and conditions for recovering, even after death, the privileges so unluckily forfeited in present existence.

Demeter and Athene, as foster-mothers of the primæval chiefs of Athens and Eleusis, are in the same relative position to the entire united tribes; but the mythological allusions of the frieze have a deeper significance than the merely national, or at least it is from a deeper significance that the nationality that inspires and introduces them gains its force.

These fables,—parallel at once and complementary, like the primæval traditions of all nations, with more or less scope or restriction, comprise symbols of all the great problems and difficulties of existence and humanity.

The birth of Erechtheus as told, whether we say naively, quaintly or coarsely, is a creation of man, of divine origin, even of divine seed; thus not only the old Adam but the new: and the dependence of man upon Divinity as a work and consequence, is moved up to the very participation of identical nature. Erechtheus is not only the work but the son of a god, and the nursling of a virgin goddess, as he is born without feminine intervention. Athene Parthenos is herself of like immaculate conception, born of Jove, of and by himself; and even Jove, we shall find if we follow on the story, is accounted for much in the same manner. Why advert to the ambiguous birth of

Dionysus, or the abundant crop of parallel myths among the local and mysterious traditions scattered over Hellas, and as ready to germinate independently as to coalesce. Whether we compare the mythology of Hellas with itself, or collate it with that of other regions,—remote or within reach, sympathetic or alien, we find that one mythus of such import repeats and imitates another, as symbolism renews itself from time to time to refresh or refine the faith that weakens as the elder fable becomes familiar or debased or stale.

The origin of man is but one phase of the origin of existence,—the still larger problem that presumption and impatience would explain, before reflecting whether it is capable of being conceived. Of two existences one seems naturally the effect of, and subsequent to, the other as cause and anterior; but how the homogeneous and identical can originally generate diversity, is a problem that was evaded by the assumption of virtual identity and pre-existence. The same puzzle recurred, recurs, in the distinct nature of divine and human, material and mental, good and evil, in man's nature and in the world, and was escaped from in the same way by challenging the fact of distinction, a remedy sufficient till the time came for the question to present itself conversely. Thus, Demeter and Dionysus, in the mysteries, were now confounded with the elements of nourishment solid and liquid, bread-corn and wine, and now severed from and set above them; man is now a grovelling creature, and now of the nature of his Creator if not a rival; and the power that today is worshipped as creative cause, the next is derivative from an antecedent; the state of man is

now a fall from a better, the wrong of a perversely frustrate destiny, and now it is a step advanced in spite of destiny,—the rape of a portion of privileges self-reserved by the gods.

In a vicious circle, as matter of supposed philosophy, proceeds for ever the attempt to transcend the transcendental and to define the infinite. The same inconceivability that is implied in the mere enunciation of space or time, as either with limitation or without, belongs to all these notions in their abstract form; but setting intellectual confidence aside, fear, doubt, or apprehension will not be so satisfied; and invention, fancy, and poetry on the one hand, and superstition on the other, originate the most varied fables and inventions to lull the mind or cheat it, to distract and divert by liveliness and beauty, or to occupy by some plan, scheme, or stratagem of reconciliation,—the more ingenious being ever the less intelligible.

Ancient speculation clothed itself in mythical forms, in tales and stories, and often the speculative symbol took up an historical tradition in its path. Philosophy so called,—or, not to profane the name, Theosophy, comes round to much the same point, but in a dryer and duller form, and it labours to invest the difficulty in new terms, new tropes; and that result is most boastful of success, of which the fallacy is merely the most difficult to detect, or even, perhaps, of which the precise drift and import are in the first instance most difficult to fix.

It is time that we return to our bas-reliefs; but thus much it may be worth while to have interposed, if it shall thus appear, that the solemnity and earnestness

of the Athenian celebration rested on a true fundamental importance in its central and generative ideas; that it differed, indeed, from the solemnities of other times and races, not in the nature of the ideas it expressed or sprang from, so much as in the investment of them with forms of beauty, and in the refinement of expression by which the lapse to superstition was as entirely as unconsciously eluded.

Nationally speaking, the introduction of Erechtheus in the sculptured group is the assertion of the favourite subject of Athenian pride,—their Autochthonia, their claim to be an original population of the land they inhabited, no settlers in a foreign seat like so many of the other Hellenian tribes. The point was no doubt a little strained, and would appear so if we knew much more about the changes that ensued after the reception of the Ionians in Attica; but still, even Thucydides recognizes and speculates upon the peculiarity and its causes. The claim is elegantly combined in the Menexenus of Plato, with that which was the glory of Eleusis,—a reflex of the combination on the frieze, to be the original seat of man's chief aliment and best, bread-corn; the analogy being relied on, and it is not merely rhetorical, of the local association by nature of special nourishment with her first creation of special forms of organic life, as the filling founts supply the true nurse and fail the pretended mother.

The earth, personified as nurse and mother of population, Ge Kourotrophos, was a general type through Greece (compare the Seven against Thebes, *v.* 16); but at Athens her worship had peculiar emphasis from the connection with Erichthonius, who, accord-

ing to Suidas, founded her temple on the Acropolis. As regards Athene, the ancestral character with which she was invested was peculiarly expressed by her epithet Phratria, and by this she was associated in a triad with Zeus Patrous, and Apollo Patrous. These three are referred to as the progenitors of the Athenian race, the patrons of their tribes and registrations. Among other passages it is enough here to refer to the Euthydemus of Plato, and the note of the scholiast. "Some say the Athenians were produced as Autochthons, and had for parents Ge and Helios, the same as Apollo. Others say, that Apollo was styled Patrous from being the father of Ion, by Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus, from whom the Athenians were called Ionians." For the association of Zeus with Apollo at Athens as Patrous, compare Aristophanes, Nubes, 1470, and scholiast, where the reason assigned for his title,—general reference to family tribe and genealogy, identifies the Zeus Phratrias, who accompanied Athene (Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 146). Another link in the mythical genealogy of very exceptional nature, is a notice by Cicero (*De Natura Deor.* iii. 22), and confirmed by Aristotle as quoted from Clemens Alexandrinus, that the father of the Athenian Apollo Patrous was Hephæstus.

Such is the tangled web of theosophic speculation and national tradition, and we may be well content if we can follow through it some general leading line. The coherence of our groups around a central thought is aided, now we are enabled to salute the Zeus of the frieze as properly Zeus Patrous, and to discern an illustration of the title in the presence of Hebe; and with full satisfaction and confidence, I also claim for the two seated gods

that are in order after Ge Kourotrophos, the titles of Apollo Patrous and Hephæstus, son and father in one form of tradition. The character of the well-preserved figure and features gives all the confirmation that can be required by independent presumptions in favour of Apollo. The cast shows drill-holes round the head, which no doubt fastened a crown,—their order even appears to indicate that it was of leaves in double row. I am not sure, in consequence of the state of the cast, which has been painted, whether the attachment or trace of a crown may or not be discernible in the marble about the head of the next figure also. This is called Poseidon by Welcker; true, the trident is wanting, as Phidias throughout is chary of introducing attributes, and most of all as hints to help over the halting of expression; but he sees in the depending arm of the god the sign of the mighty burden that was wont to strain it. Admirably seen as regards the general hint, but there is an expression about the other arm and hand, that should, I believe, induce us to define it differently. The expressive character of the right arm appears to me to depend on the peculiar angle at which the forearm is inclined to the arm, and by the great development of its muscles; and as I look at them, association brings into my own mind almost a revival of the sensations that follow the use of a heavy hammer stoutly wielded, and with a tight grasp. The position of the left hand and fingers, again, are to me as inevitably suggestive of familiarity with pincers,—indeed, I am inclined to think that there was an intention in the design, from whatever cause given up, to attach an actual metal instrument; the disposition of the fingers would admit of this quite

as readily as in the hands of Zeus, Hermes, and a female figure which we have yet to name; the separation of the forefinger from the others precisely suits the management of pincers by separating the shanks and moving one of them independently of the other; the somewhat rounded back of the god is also characteristic of the decorative smith, and quite out of rule for Poseidon. There is of course no fatigue indicated, but merely the corporeal nature and organism subdued by, or rather self-adjusted to, its specialty of activity and love. We behold the power who was associated with the goddess of the festival in the celebration of the Chalkeia,—the occasion of the commencement of the work of the Panathenaic peplus. As a god of heat and fire, atmospheric or tellurian, he had also manifold relation to the meteorological aspect of the notion of Athene, and, like her, was honoured at Athens with the symbolical torch-race. He had an altar at Academia, in common with Prometheus, within the precinct of the goddess Athene, and from this the racers in the Hephæstia started with their lighted torches, and the course was over the plain towards the city,—a mimic repetition of the traditional course of the Titan Prometheus, when he brought the fire of Hephæstus as a comforter and ally to the settlements of unprovided man. Here Æschylus found the subject, if he did not place the scene also, of his lost tragedy, Prometheus the Firebringer; and Athens was thus glorified by being made the original seat of man's mastery of fire, —no inappropriate rivalry of the artistic city to the glories of corn-growing Eleusis. The warmth of Hephæstus,—whatever may be his relation to Athene

and to Erechtheus,—is therefore typical at once of the principle of life, both divine and human, and of all that gives to it cheerfulness and refinement; and such an exaltation of his functions seems to have caused that approach to Apollo-Helios, which makes them friends and allies in the Odyssey, and even took the form, as we have seen, of sonship and paternity.

National, natural, and ethical associations are as abundant and prompt to justify the presence of Apollo, and are as closely and gracefully combined and harmonized. What god more fitly oversees a general muster of a populous city than he to whom was due all health and vigour and vivacity, kourotrophic or promoter of population by the primæval testimony of both Hesiod (*Theog.* 347) and Homer (*Od.* xix. 86), and whose tending of youth was acknowledged by the offering of the shorn locks of puberty. The solar god, again, might naturally be invoked at the return of a periodic festival determined by his epochs, especially since there is trace that his character of sun-god was especially regarded in those traditions that bound him as Patrous or ancestral, most closely to the Athenian state, and that even the detailed regulation of the state internally was designedly arranged with a certain analogy to his calendar. Before the revolution effected by Clisthenes,—a perfectly historical event,—the Athenian people was divided into four tribes, each claiming descent from an heroic eponym, son of Ion, and through him of Apollo, and this division was perpetuated to later times in the Ionian colonies. Each of these Ionic tribes was again divisible into three

phratries,—giving twelve in all,—and each phratry again into thirty classes of thirty families each. Thus, $4 \times 3 = 12 \times 30 = 360 \times 30 = 10{,}800$. This division seems manifestly to have reference to the number of months in the year and the number of days in a month, and the spirit of the early period was sure to give such a distribution a mythical sense, if indeed this was not its origin. A similar principle, but having the week or seven days for its unit, the nearest attainable fourth of a month, is found in the arrangement under the constitution of Clisthenes; the year was divided into 10 Prytanies of 5 weeks or periods of 7 days each ($5 \times 7 = 35 \times 10 = 350$), or 50 weeks, and the senate of 500 into 10 bodies corresponding with the new tribes, 50 to each corresponding with the Prytanies, and these again into 5 bodies of 10 each, to agree with the next subdivisions over which each ten presided in succession. Thus the celebration recurred after the completion in parallel course, of the annual cycle of the god and the succession of civic and sacred functions of all the heads and members of the community. The greater importance assigned to the period of four years in the great festivals of Greece, the Panathenæa among them, arose from the prevailing attention to solar and lunar epochs. The Greeks proposed to reckon months by the moon, and years by the sun; but as the periods of the two are incommensurable within an ordinary year, a longer term was sought for and approximately found. After a lapse of four years, the sun is found by the simplest reckoning and easiest observation to have gained one full day from epoch to epoch. There is no difficulty, after scientific or

superstitious interest has been drawn to the point, in determining the day in every year on which the sun rises the highest, or appears on the horizon the furthest to the north; and counting on the fingers will reveal the rest, that a day has been gained in the four years. But the period of four years was also marked by an approach to commensurability of the lunar period, though still not comprising an exact number of lunations. In mythical history and incident, we more frequently meet with the Octaeteris,—otherwise Enneateris, or period of eight complete years, and the approximation of this is much more remarkable, though not exact; eight solar years and five lunar, or ninety-nine lunar months, being nearly equal,—a new period commencing with the hundredth lunar month. The rising of the full moon on one side of the heavens as the sun sinks down on the other, has always appeared to me one of the most beautiful sights in nature; and at that moment, if ever, the spectator, from his standing-place the earth, might be pardoned the hasty and presumptuous thought that his dwelling-place was the centre of the universe, and his race and his being the final end and interest of Providence divine. Pindar alludes to this spectacle at the epoch of the Olympic games, and the Panathenæa were celebrated like the Olympia, though a year earlier, at the full moon nearest to or following the summer solstice. I even suspect, that when Phidias designed the groups of Helios and Selene with their horses, that fill the angles of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, one rising as the other sinks, he was not unmindful of the celestial signs or the term of the greater Panathenæa. Athene herself,

in the various turns of versiform mythology, is frequently on the verge of lunar identification, and thus approaches in sympathy to Apollo as the solar progenitor of her favoured people. It may be remarked here, that in addition to other proprieties for the subject of the birth of Athene in the eastern pediment, the day of the Panathenæa was held to be its anniversary (Athenæus, iii. 98, B.); and thus there is a certain analogy between the great frontispiece of the temple, and the principle of assembly of the groups of gods on the frieze over its entrance, the ancestors and the foster-parents, divine and heroic, of the autochthonic race.

The traditions of the worship of Apollo at Athens are connected, for the most part, first with Ion, the eponym of the Ionic element of the population, and then with Theseus and his family, who appear to express its character and activities. Lycus, the brother of Ægeus, is connected with Apollo Lycius and the Lyceum at Athens, as with the settlement of Lycia, so celebrated a seat of the worship of the sun-god: Ægeus himself honours the god as Delphinius, whence the Attic court of Delphinium, and was buried in his temple; and the closer relations of Attica to Delos were dated from the intercourse and adventures of Theseus. This is important, because, after Erechtheus, the name of Theseus was most celebrated, as a promoter, if not founder, of the united and concentrated State and its general festivals; and while the centaur combats of the metopes, and the enrichments of the arms of the great statue within the temples recorded his interest and participation, we are yet without marked allusion to him on the frieze.

I am inclined to think that we shall find that this is furnished by the last pair of seated figures which remain to be considered. These, it will be observed, are seated apart from the other gods upon this side, just as Zeus and Here in the other division are grouped independently of Demeter and her companions. The similarity, however, is tempered by a marked contrast in relative demeanour.

Here is observant of her husband on the one side, —she turns round in her position to regard him as he sits engrossed, it seems, in either immature or uncommunicated counsel; but, on the other side, it is the goddess who is the observed of her companion, and greater emphasis is given from her comparative youthfulness and slenderness of figure. She seems to sit as independently as Zeus himself; and I recognize in her general pose a certain reserve, combined with dignity, that justifies the rather attendant than questioning regard of her bearded assessor. When I was under the impression that the brotherly pair in the other group were the Dioscuri, as Eleusinian initiates, I was tempted to recognize here another hero, Asclepius, whose initiation was celebrated on a special day, the Epidauria, and, this assumed, the feminine companion could only be Hygiea. This opinion is, however, on any ground untenable. The position, correlative to that of Zeus, could, in no sense, be vindicated for Hygiea, notwithstanding her Attic fame, and connection, if not identification, with the Athene of the Acropolis. The staff on which the male figure leans is not that of the Health-god, and I never did allow myself to transform the ridge of defaced drapery about the lap into a serpent,—the liveliest fancy could

only find material for a viper, a worm too small to be to the purpose.

Perhaps there might be more excuse for pondering upon the names of Persephone and Hades, but this suggestion, after very prompt comparisons, also comes to nought; and, with as much confidence as I feel for any name hitherto assigned, I assent to the opinion fortified by Welcker, and claim the goddess as Aphrodite Urania. Three drill-holes in the seat, drapery, and arm, remain to indicate the line of an attached sceptre, which would further enhance her distinction and grace of expression, and mark still more her symmetrical agreement with the sceptred Zeus. Welcker designates her associate Hephæstus, and refers to the possibly not accidental proximity of their respective fanes; but I conceive that the relation of Hephæstus to Aphrodite could scarcely be insisted on with pertinence and propriety in a group of gods, and on an occasion when his presence would so necessarily call up his interest in the special mythus of the birth of Erechtheus and the quasi-maternity of the virgin Athene, with which Aphrodite has nothing to do, and his society with Aphrodite nothing; indeed, in the very temple referred to, Pausanias (I., 14, 6,) remarks a statue of Glaukopis, which excludes a more intimate reference to the neighbouring Aphrodite. The temple of Aphrodite, here entitled the Uranian, still contained, in the time of Pausanias, the statue of the goddess in Parian marble, a work of Phidias, and an evidence, therefore, of the importance attached to it in his time; it was held to have been founded by Ægeus to conciliate the goddess, to whose anger he ascribed his want of offspring; it was this dedication,

therefore, that gave to the Athenian people their hero Theseus; and I do not hesitate to identify the observant companion of the goddess, as her worshipper Ægeus, introduced on the same principle as Triptolemus on the other side, accompanies Demeter his foster-mother and protectress. It was under the auspices of Aphrodite that Theseus sailed on the expedition to Crete, where he was saved and victorious through the passion of Ariadne; and, what is still more to our purpose as a Panathenaic motive, Theseus himself instituted a worship of Aphrodite, entitled Pandemus, and associated with Peitho, the personification of the force of conciliatory eloquence, to commemorate or acknowledge her aid in carrying through the concentration of a scattered people into a single city. It was at a later date, and in another range of ideas, that the Pandemian title was debased,—faring, for the rest, no worse than that of Urania whether at Corinth or elsewhere; and thus they became again, in their lower sense, as they had been originally in their most solemn and refined, rather equivalent or complementary than contrasted. Uranian Aphrodite, the goddess of heaven, was held universally to be the patroness of legitimate alliance, and the hope and stay of war-smitten and depopulated states: it was by an easy extension that her influence was traced in the internal concord of the State, as well as of the individual family, and in the promotion of the civil unity of which the domestic is at once an element and a type. The same combination of ideas pertains to the notion of Here as goddess, both of matrimonial and of civil order; but this subject I have already pursued at large in an Essay, published in 1845, in illustration of

the Nereid monument of Xanthus,—a monument originally raised by the Lycian Greeks of that city, in gratitude to Aphrodite, Uranian and Olympian, for recovered prosperity and numbers. Proclus, *Hymn. ad Ven.*

Of the names and the significance of these groups of gods and heroes,—as Patroan, Genethliac, and ancestral of the Athenian autochthons, the worshippers of the Virgin Athene, at a festival commemorative of the unity of the state, if not of its common origin,—let thus much have been said; and more, especially if more to the purpose, of a discussion I can scarcely hope to conclude, shall be welcome from whatever quarter.

The rhythmical ordonnance of this eastern frieze exhibits the same staid decorum and earnestness that breathe from every single group. The close trains of virgins, appropriately conspicuous in the service of the Parthenon, advance from either end with as little variety and vivacity of movement as may be,—the due animation that gives effect to seriousness being preserved. Then are introduced, on either side, less extensive groups of ordering officials, still more absolutely at rest in their position, but contrasting with the maidens, not only in sex and age, but also by the gestures which, however moderated and composed, are expressive of deliberation, arrangement, and thought. These wings of the composition occupy, together, about three-fifths of the front; the other two-fifths are assigned to the more important group we have been discussing. This, again, as we have seen, has its two lateral and one central division; on either side the six seated powers, or heroes, in the midst the ministers of the goddess. The series of figures breaks

into two broadly symmetrical halves, immediately over the grand door; and while attention is thus led up to the centre, this break serves, by its very flatness of tone, to advertise us that the true height of the climax is elsewhere, and the eye drops naturally and involuntarily to the opening below, through which was conspicuous the statue of the goddess herself in ivory and gold,—the glorious personification of the Wisdom, Benignity, and Might of her father,—the immediate effluence and universal agency of Olympian Zeus.

The more the frieze is studied, the greater will be the admiration of the genius displayed upon it in plan, invention, drawing, and execution; and whatever inequalities there are, appear due to differences of execution alone, not, as in the case of some of the metopes, to the original defects of inferior design. Some of the excellences find most room for display in the more complicated groups on the flanks of the cella, as the marvellous breadth, simplicity, and distinctness of forms most unsparingly combined, which are accomplished by the aid of resources limited to an extreme projection of relief not exceeding two inches. The succession of broad and close or narrow spaces and surfaces is so managed, that they aid and express each other as harmoniously as the quick and the tardy metrical feet in a Doric rhythm of Pindar; while the broad masses blend into the broad, and the crowded into the crowded, with a repose and sweetness, with a refinement and a vigour, not surpassed in the art with which Correggio blends lights into lights and shadows into shadows. These effects were, no doubt, originally far more apparent than at present; and that was obvious on inspection once which now we greet as a discovery. I do not entertain a doubt that the bac

ground was coloured or tinted with some strength, and would say, probably blue ; and this would carry off, as well as require the metallic ornaments, bridles or trappings, that it is certain, from the traces that remain, were attached to the marble. But, apart from the distinctness this would give, still more was due to happy accommodation to peculiar light. As originally placed, the figures received no light from above, but were illuminated entirely, and in Attic climate sufficiently, by reflected light, and principally from below. The deeper sinkings—the mouths of the horses for instance—were executed so as to get the mastery of the unusual direction of shadow, and avoid both distortion and confusion ; but when they are now seen with a strong light from above, the remedy becomes an aggravation, and painful, not to say grotesque. This is very observable in the position of the restored casts at the Crystal Palace ; not so much so in the originals at the Museum, from the general obliteration of shadow, consequent, partly, on the counteracting glare from the floor, which reaches them at the low height they are placed at, and partly from the unhappy discoloration they have sustained, and may be still sustaining.

The copies of the frieze which are placed round the exterior of the Athenæum Club in Pall Mall, afford much the best opportunity for studying the art of its design, though, of course, the position is still too high, and has other disadvantages, as every position other than the original always must have. It was from observation of the Pall Mall copies that I pointed out the order of the cavalcade, as following on in ranks of six or eight horsemen abreast. The broad smooth surface of each outside horse gives rest to the eye, and marks and accentuates the sequence. The

same expedient is applied in the chariot groups, and by skilful disposition, the clear external outlines of the nearest horse are sufficient to explain the attitudes and succession of even three other horses grouped behind it. There seems scarcely any limit to the number of superimposed masses which the sculptor was able to comprise within the relief of his rigorous two inches, while depression is so economized and distributed, that one solid limb or member never has the appearance of being pressed into or flattened upon the surface of that or those which it crosses or rests upon.

The eastern frieze, from its greater simplicity, does not supply such striking illustration of these points; but it is by the same principle of management that the gods and their companions are shown as seated, four abreast and two abreast.

After all that has been said to elevate the glory of this work, my last word must be one of comparative depreciation; and yet that, too, enhances the estimation of Phidias: after every allowance has been made for unfavourable position, and for the injuries of time and barbarism, the defaced and battered heads, and the exfoliation of the entire original surface, it must yet be admitted, that, as compared with the fragments of the compositions that once filled the pediments, the Panathenaic frieze, unapproached, unpproachable as it may be,—is, after all, only worthy to be reckoned as a facile sketch for delegated execution, of the sculptor who wrought the all-majestic Fates and conceived the immortal composition of the contest of Athene and Poseidon.

W. W. Lloyd.

XXI.—OBSERVATIONS ON CERTAIN ALLEGORICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE ANCIENTS.

BY FILIPPO GARGALLO-GRIMALDI.

(Read March 14th, 1855.)

1. HARPY.—Seeing in the design[1] which I am about to discuss, an altar between two Doric columns, you would, perhaps, suppose that the recess of a temple is there represented; but you will abandon this idea when you observe that those tall plants, which are placed between the columns and the altar, evidently denote an open and a rural site.

Besides, you will remember that simple columns were used for sepulchral monuments,[2] and that the tombs often took the form of the altars;[3] you will

[1] This vase, in the possession of Signor R. Barone, is of the polychrome style, and was taken from the sepulchre of Gnathia, the present Fasano.

[2] Meursius de Funere, c. 31. Those funereal columns are mentioned in the laws of Solon against the violation of sepulchres, Cicero, de Leg. ii. 26. For similar columns, *vide* Millingen, Vas. Grec. *tav.* xiv., xvii., xxxix. Vases de Coghill, xxvi. and xlvi. Bull. de l'Inst. Arch. 1851, p. 166.

[3] According to Plutarch, Vit. Themist. s. ult., the tomb of Themistocles, as described by Diodorus the Periegetes, was of similar shape, *βωμοειδὴς τύμβος*. Βωμός replaces *τάφος* in Duris, p. 185, Hulleman. See also, for more of these tombs, Nouv. Ann. Arch. ii. p. 177.

therefore readily recognize a cemetery, represented on a small scale by a tomb and two funereal columns.

Observe that the personages depicted agree perfectly with the sombre character of such a scene, because the two owls perched upon the shrubs, and the Sirens standing upon the tomb, are appropriate inhabitants of a *poliandrio*, or cemetery.

Indeed, night birds, and especially owls, whose hooting so closely resembles wailing and lamentation[4] that Virgil called them "carmen ferale,"[5] ever were and are still considered of evil augury, and for this reason this species of fowl is esteemed ill-omened in the highest degree.[6]

The twisted branches,[7] upon which the two inauspicious birds are sitting, are also allusions to funereal thoughts.

Sirens, as you are aware, were also considered types of woe, on account of their sombre lugubrious songs, called by Sophocles, "songs of hell."[8]

The likeness of our Siren is given after the usual manner of representing these double-shaped monsters,

[4] "Luctifer bubo gemit," Senec. Herc. Fur. v. 686.

[5] Æn. iv. 462.

[6] Κακάλλογος, Ant. Lib. c. 15. "Bubo funebris... dirum ostentum," Plin. x. 12; "dirum mortalibus omen," Ovid, Met. 550. A Fury, in the shape of an owl, standing in a sepulchre, announces to Turnus his approaching death, Æneid. xiv. 862. Cf. Payne Knight, Inquiry, p. 141 (pr. ed.).

[7] Cavedoni, Bull. d. Inst. Arch. 1845, p. 52, 1846, p. 27. This peculiarity of the interlacement of plants on Greek monuments escaped H. Panofka. Ann. Arch. iv. p. 128 and following.

[8] Τοὺς Ἅιδου νόμους, Fragm. 254, Ahrens. According to Plato, t. ii. p. 329, Bip., the Fates adopted their strain from that of the Sirens. These are the *epicedii*, or dirges. See last note.

which is the same as that of the Harpies sculptured on the famous sepulchre of Xanthus:[9] in both these figures we see designed the bust of a young woman and the body of a bird.[10]

It is not only in similarity of form that the affinity between the Acheloidian and Taumantian Sisters is discernible; I will, therefore, now call your attention to a few particulars to prove the common descent of these connatural families of mythological origin.

The Harpies dwelt in solitary islands[11] and the Sirens likewise;[12] if the former, sometimes lived in the sea[13] and were mingled with the winds;[14] the latter were also considered as inhabitants of the waves, and were connected with the winds,[15] so that the power of prophecy was attributed to both,[16] and in both we perceive indistinctly an allegorical allusion to rapacious and insidious courtesans.[17] But

[9] Mon. de Inst. Arch. vol. iv. tab. II. III. The Harpy, fig. 2 in this Plate, is introduced to show its relation to the Sirens.

[10] See Claude Nicaise, Les Sirènes, ou Discours sur leur Forme et Figure. (Paris, 1691.)

[11] The Strophades, Æn. iii. 210, 212, originally called Plotæ, Apoll. Rhod. ii. 296, 297. Hygin. Fab. xix.

[12] Therefore called Sirenussæ: Corcia, Storia delle Due Sicilie, ii. 469, 470.

[13] As the "pelagi volucres," Virg. Æn. iii. 292.

[14] As the whirlwinds, Schol. ad Od. I. 241, Schol. ad Hesiod. Theog. 265; or South winds, Schol. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 270. The Harpy Podarge is enamoured of Zephyrus, Iliad. xiv. 150.

[15] "Monstra maris Sirenes erant," Ovid; Arr. Ann. iii. 311. The Sirens allayed the winds, Eustath. et Schol. ad Iliad. xiv. 158, 159.

[16] Æn. iii. 245 and following; Odyss. xii. 157.

[17] Heraclitus, c. 8, 14. Sermis ad Æn. v. 854. Bochart, Geogr. Sacr. ii. 1, 33.

that which makes this parallel clearly obvious is, the absolute similarity of their intrinsic characters, which is eminently funereal and infernal.

One cannot doubt that the fear of death was associated with the Acheloides, as their singing was, as I have already remarked, dirge-like. Nor can it be disputed, that they were considered infernal, this being twice clearly proved by Plato,[18] and more decidedly still by that mystical tradition, according to which they were accounted daughters of Orcus.[19]

As to the Harpies, not only was it supposed that these demons carried off[20] youths, and even adults, in all the vigour of life,[21] but young women,[22] and even sucking infants,[23] so that it is evident that they were types of a violent and premature death.[24]

Not only is their infernal origin proved in that passage of the Æneid, where they are mentioned as standing among the fabulous monsters at the entrance of the Erebus,[25] but also from an ancient legend in which they are acknowledged as descendants of Orcus, because they are supposed to be born

[18] Cratylus, p. 45, ed. Bekker. de Rep. X. ad fin. Cf. Creuzer, Comm. Herod. p. 347.

[19] Sophocles, Fragm. 19. Cf. Meineke, Frag. Com. Græc. p. 122–3, Eupterion N. Bach. Phanocles, pp. 198, 199.

[20] Δαίμονες ἁρπακτικαί, Schol. ad Iliad. xvi. 150.

[21] Such was Ulysses when Telemachus and Eumæus believed him thus snatched away.

[22] As the daughters of Pandarus. Odyss. xx. 77, Schol. ad eund. v. 66, Paus. x. 30, 1.

[23] See Plate III. fig. 2. See Triopean Inscr. v. 13, 14.

[24] Ann. Arch. i. p. 272.

[25] Æn. vi. 289, imitated by Sil. Ital. xiii. 599, and Celsus, apud Orig. p. 304, Spencer, Senec. Herc. Fur. v. 758.

of Typhon,[26] who passed for the son of Tartarus and Terra.[27] In consequence of these characteristic signs, at the same time funereal and infernal, which were attributed to the Sirens, their images were sculptured upon cenotaphs and tombs.[28]

In your valuable work upon the Harpies,[29] you have touched upon the sufficiently manifest analogy between them and the Sirens. This has tempted me to investigate the minute details of this resemblance, and I trust you may consider this letter worthy to be placed as an appendix to your work, but I chiefly desire that you will believe in my profound esteem and friendship for you.

2. POMEGRANATE.—When we consider the immense quantity of seeds contained in a pomegranate, the idea of fecundity naturally presents itself to the mind, and

[26] Val. Flac. iv. 428, 516.

[27] Hygin. Præf. and Fab. clii. Schol. Æschyl. Prom. 351.

[28] For the Harpies may be cited the monument of Xanthus, for the Sirens the tomb of Sophocles, and of Isocrates, Plut. Vit. Decem Orat. ii. p. 838, C. Philostrat. Vit. Soph. i. 17, in allusion to death and the harmonious diction of the deceased. The emblematic images of the Acheloids alluded to mortal destiny and lugubrious and ill-omened strains. Thus, on the magnificent pyre of Hephæstion they appeared to chant the dirge, which was sung by persons placed inside their images. (Diodorus, xvii. 115.) In this sense is to be interpreted the *episema* of the Siren placed upon the stele of a girl, to whom were addressed the verses of Mnasalla, Anal. e Brunck. i. 193, and on the tomb of Baucis, lamented by Erinna. Anth. Græc. i. 50 Jacobs. So on the vase, Bull. 1836, p. 166, and the two Sirens of a sepulchral stele in Panofka (Ant. d. Cab. Pourtalés xxiv.), which are the graphic or figured expression of funeral harmony, as they sing to the dead with their musical instruments, as on the present Plate.

[29] Annali, xvii. p. 1 and following.

it was on this account that the fruit was esteemed grateful to Venus,[30] who represented the generative power of nature in the propagation of all kinds of animals.[31]

In another sense, the pomegranate referred to conjugal union, wherefore we sometimes find it placed in the hands of statues of Jove and Juno, emblematic of them in their married state;[32] it also was used as a symbol of amorous voluptuousness, as appears from the fable of the clandestine abduction of Proserpine, for mythologists relate that she was detained in the infernal regions, where she had become the wife of her ravisher, on account of her having tasted some seeds of this *erotic* fruit.[33]

By this story, the mystic dogma that the human spirit descends from its celestial abode to the dominions of matter may be allegorically explained, and

[30] See Ant. in Athenæo, page 84, c., and Obarius in Philostratus' Life of Apollonius of Tyana, iv. 28 (12).

[31] See Lucretius, i. 3, 4, and the observations upon this subject by Creuzer, Symbol. l. vi. c. 5. To this Homer alludes, in rather a free manner, in his Hymn to Aphrodite.

[32] By this is meant the statue of Jupiter Cassius in Pelusium (see Tacitus, iii. 6), clearly explained by Böttiger, Opusc. Latin. p. 389 (*), and of the famous *colossal* statue of Juno, the great work of Polycletetus. See Pausanias, ii. 17, 4. *Cf.* Strabo, p. 372, B.

[33] The "*Thesmophoreusæ*" were forbidden to eat pomegranates when preparing themselves for the celebration of their mystic rites; they were obliged to observe the most rigorous chastity; from which it is to be inferred that this fruit was considered to have an erotic tendency. *Vide* Creuzer and Guigniant, Relig. de l'Antiq. v. 728–9. With regard to the anecdote of the pomegranate which Proserpine ate, yielding to the persuasions of her lover, the authorities are collected by Heyne in the notes to the Apollodorus, p. 65, and where the seductions of amorous pleasures are alluded to and well cited by Böttiger, op. cit., p. 390.

that it is not again permitted to free itself from terrestrial ties and to reascend into the spheres above, if it should even yield to the attractions of sensual enjoyments.[34] Now explaining this doctrine to the initiated by means of the drama of priestcraft, or, as we may term it, sacred plays, as practised in the mysteries,[35] ψυχή, or the soul, was represented by Cora;[36] or terrestrial corruption, which drives it into the abyss of sensuality, by Pluto;[37] and the voluptuousness which retains it tenaciously in that gulf by the pomegranate.

It must be here observed, that the pomegranate came to be appropriated to the infernal regions in the myth of the clandestine nuptials of Proserpine already alluded to; and hence it is fabled that Side (the impersonification of this fruit)[38] was plunged into

[34] Almost all the Platonists have treated of this celebrated dogma, and especially Plotinus and Porphyry; the first, in his work upon the 'Descent of the Soul' (Enead IV., l. 8), and the other, in his work upon the 'Return of the Soul,' which is often quoted by St. Augustine, p. e. in c, 29 of l. X. of the *De Civit. Dei.*

[35] See Taylor, Dissert. on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries, 84–7, and St. Croix, Myster. of Pagan., L. 366 et seq.

[36] It is known that the Grecian theologists by *Cora* meant the *soul;* for this reason, we read in the treatise of the philosopher Sallust 'Upon Names' (c. iv.), that the rape of *Cora* signified the descent of the *soul:* and Olympiodorus wishes to express this idea when he writes, in the 'Commentary of the Phædrus of Plato,' *that the souls* descend in the generation, or in the dominion of the senses, in the manner of *Cora.* Cf. Jannelli, Tent. in Hierograph. Etruscor. p. 147.

[37] This double character, *telluric* and *corrupting,* belongs particularly to this deity, as to the one which represented the *earth* (see Karsten, Empedocles' Relics, p. 181), and to whom, for this reason, the corrupting power is attributed. See Porphyrius, Eusebius, Prepar. Evangel. iii. 11. Cf. Taylor, op. cit., p. 96.

[38] We know that the word σίδη was used principally by the

Orcus,[39] whence also the lugubrious and funereal character attributed to pomegranate, evidenced not by sepulchral monuments alone, on which the *balaustium* or flower of the pomegranate, and the fruit of this shrub, are often found represented,[40] but also from the popular tradition respecting the tomb of Eteocles, for they say that the Furies planted on his tomb a pomegranate-tree, the fruit of which distilled drops of blood when plucked.[41]

This sinister prodigy doubtless bore relation to the supposed origin of the pomegranate, which is sure to have sprung either from the blood of Zagræus, mangled by the Titans,[42] or from that of Atys, mutilated by Bacchus.[43]

From all this, it may be inferred that the symbol in question, although connected with fecundity and amorous pleasures, was suggestive to the mind of the idea of death; and thus appropriate to designate the constant law of destruction alternating with reproduction, imposed by nature on organic matter, emblematically revealed in the Eleusinian mysteries.[44]

Bœotians instead of the common word ῥοιά, which signifies the *pomegranate;* whence it is that the representation of this fruit in the medallions of Sidec is a phonetic emblem of that ancient city. See Cavedoni, Spicileg. Numismat. p. 201.

[39] Apollodori, i. 4, 3.

[40] See Dempster, Etruria Regalis, tab. XXVIII.; Micali, Storia d'Italia, tab. 105; Inghirami, Monum. Etrusc. series VI.ª tab. H.2; Badmonte, Antich. Pestane, p. 76.

[41] Philostratus, Imag. ii. 29.

[42] Clemens Alexandr., Strom. viii. 19.

[43] Arnobius, v. 6.

[44] See St. Croix, op. cit. p. 419, with the annotations by De Sacy, pp. 450 et seq.

It is in any case clear that the pomegranate was exhibited there,[45] in reference, as has been already remarked, to the mystic espousals of Cora-Psyche, the subject of the secret drama in the adytum of the Eleusinian sanctuary.

3. SPHINX.—For such reasons we must associate with this fruit the conception of the religious crypticism, or of the secret conveyed by the Egyptian hierophants under the symbol of the Sphinx.[46] For this fabulous monster passed thence into the mystic legends of the Greeks, and was often depicted by their artists, and, notwithstanding some changes which it underwent, lost nought of its original form nor of its primitive significancy.

True it is that the Hellenes changed very little indeed in the Egyptian archetype of the Sphinx, adding merely the wings, and prolonging its *protome*, or female bust, to the lion's legs; it may be seen thus depicted on an inedited Greek vase,[47] whence the sketch annexed to the present Paper is taken.

[45] From the same motive Pausanias, always observant of the silence imposed upon the initiated, abstained from touching upon the mystic signification of this fruit, declaring that he was forbidden to reason upon it, ii. 17, 4; and Tacitus affirmed the same thing, but less explicitly, iii. 6.

[46] Plutarch, De Isid. Osirid. s. s. 9, gives the same evidence, and says that the Egyptian priests were in the habit of placing statues of Sphinxes before the temples, signifying by this the secret character enigmatical of their theology; which is refuted by Clement of Alexandria, Preparat. p. 240, ed. Sylb.

[47] This vase belongs to Sig. R. Barone, merchant of antiquities in Naples. In the same manner this monster was represented in other drawings of Grecian vases (Tischbein vases of Sir W. Hamilton, ii. 24, and iii. 34), and in a mural painting of an ancient

The only features which distinguish this from usual statues of the Theban monster[48] is the diadem, by which its head is surmounted. Had the form of it been entirely human, and an inscription had been added to it, in order to enable us to have recognized it as a figure of the Sphinx, we might have believed that the painter, in decorating it with that regal attribute, had followed some of those erroneous views which held it to be an Amazon who married Cadmus, and with him enjoyed the throne of Thebes,[49] or a daughter of Lauis who seized upon that same throne;[50] but this figure is triformate, and doubtless represents the enigmatic monster; and hence the diadem must be regarded simply as an ornament.

It is open to as little doubt that this Egyptian emblem preserved with the Greeks its ancient significancy, if we consider the meaning of the words used to designate it; because the verb *σφίγγω*, *stringo*, *avinco*, is that from which the word Sphinx is derived, referring allusively to its astuteness in reasoning by enigmas, to conceal or disguise the ideas,

sepulchre (Bellori, Pict. tav. XIX.); except that in this picture, which is the work of an Italian artist, the upper half of the Sphinx is entirely of the human form, while in the afore-named paintings on the vases, executed by the Greek artificers, and in this, where the design annexed is treated of, instead of hands there are lions' paws.

[48] The identity of names between the City of the Hundred Gates and the capital of Bœotia must necessarily occasion a confusion between them; to which we must attribute the passage that the Sphinx made from the Egyptian to the Greek mythology; Jacobi, Mytholog. Wörterbuch, *Sphinx*.

[49] Palæphatus, cvii. This place is mentioned by St. Jerome, in he Com. to the Chronicles of Eusebius.

[50] See Jacobi, l. s. c.

perplexing the mind of the auditor with obscure metaphors and dubious phrases,[51] which conveys the idea of that which is secret and involved in mystery,[52] in reference to the ambiguous language attributed to that monster.[53]

Moreover, that this crypticism, symbolized by the Sphinx, was connected, even among the Greeks, with sacred things, is manifested by those remains of their art in which we see religious edifices adorned with its image.[54]

These remarks may be concluded by the symbolical signification of the Pomegranate and of the Sphinx, by observing that the same emblems are found adapted to a statue of Proserpine found in an ancient subterraneous chamber.[55]

From that which has been observed as to the connection of the pomegranate with the subterra-

[51] Lactantius, Com. to the Thebais of Statius, i. 66 and iv. 87.

[52] Hence it is that we see the figure of the Sphinx associated with that of the Initiation in a Grecian basso-rilievo published in the Annali d'Inst. Arch. i. tav. c.

[53] From this the epithet ποικιλφδός, which is given to the Sphinx by Sophocles in 'King Edipus,' 180, and the equivalent expression *an obscure poet*, which is used to characterize it by Ovid, Metam. vii. 761.

[54] For example, the antefixes of the temple of Pella are described with the double figure of the *Theban monster*. See Brōndstedt, Voyag. Rech. en Grèce, i. 153. With the angles of the top of a *temple* to Minerva are placed, as *pinnacles*, *two Sphinxes*, in a painting on a Grecian vase published by Lenormant and De Witte, in the Elite de Monum. Céramograph., i. LXVII.

[55] This important image, sculptured in sandstone, was published by Inghirami in the Mus. Chuis., tav. xvii. and xviii. Another statue of Persephone, found also in an old *sepulchre*, has also in her hand the *pomegranate*. See Bullet. de l'Instit. Archéolog., an. 1839, p. 49.

neous regions, and that which the secret espousals of Cora bear to that mystic fruit, we may infer that it serves as an attribute of the Queen of Orcus:[56] nor will it seem strange that this figure of the Goddess should be associated with the figures of the Sphinx, when we reflect that this monster was considered as appertaining to the infernal abodes.[57]

FILIPPO GARGALLO-GRIMALDI.

[56] From various ancient writers quoted by Jannelli in the Tentam. in Hierograph. Etruscor. p. 185, it is proved that the pomegranate was sacred to Proserpine.

[57] This evidently proceeds from the mythological traditions respecting her parents; since it is said that she was born of *Typhon* and *Echidna*, or of *Orthus* and *Chimæra*, which monsters all belonged to Hell. See the learned annotations of Van Lennep, v. 326, to the Theogony of Hesiod.

XXII.—ON THE EXCAVATIONS UNDERTAKEN AT THE RUINS OF SUSA IN 1851-2.

BY W. KENNETT LOFTUS.

(Read November 28th, 1855.)

At the distance of about fourteen miles to the south-south-west of Dizfúl, in the plains of the Persian province of Arábistán, are situated the important mounds called Shúsh. They undoubtedly represent the site of "Shushan," the palace of Queen Esther, and, at a subsequent period, of Susa, the city so often mentioned in the campaigns of Alexander the Great.

The two great rivers, the Kerkhah and the river of Diz, flow through the plains, and, at the point where they most nearly approach each other, are the mounds of Shúsh, distant about three-quarters of a mile from the former, and a mile and a half from the latter. Rising from a perfectly level plain, they are remarkably conspicuous and imposing objects. They consist of three massive piles of earth, irregular in their general form, but measuring three miles and a half in circumference. The most conspicuous mound is that on the south-west; it rises 119 feet at its

highest point[1] above the plain, while the others do not exceed 70 feet. Their extent, form, and position will be best understood by a reference to the accompanying plan.

The small river Sháour, rising between the larger rivers from the plains about two miles to the N. W., flows in a deep sluggish stream past the west base of the great mound. The tomb of the prophet Daniel —the well-known place of pilgrimage for Jews, Sabæans, and Mahomedans—stands close upon the left bank of the Sháour.

At certain times the plains of Shúsh are studded with the black tents of the 'Ali Kethír Arabs, a tribe of the Shíah sect, who live on the produce of their cultivation, and move about from place to place as the land which they own requires attention. From being subject to the government of Dizfúl, and from continual intercourse and intermarriage with the bigoted inhabitants of that place, they have imbibed the worst passions and qualities of the Persians in addition to their own. There is probably no tribe of Arabs having a more detestable character than that of the 'Ali Kethír.

At other seasons the solitude of Shúsh is unbroken, except when plundering parties of the Beni-Lám from the west banks of the Kerkhah, or pious travellers, resort to the shrine of the Prophet, and take refuge there for the night from the lions and other wild animals which infest the neighbourhood.

[1] According to the observations of my friend Lieutenant Glascott, R.N. this point is in latitude 32° 11′ 25″ N., and in longitude about 48° 27′ 0″ E.

In May, 1850, Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, C.B.,[2] Her Majesty's Commissioner for the Demarkation of the Turko-Persian Frontier, desired me to visit Shúsh, in company with my friend Mr. Churchill,[3] for the purpose of examining the mounds, and, if possible, of opening trenches. Our proceedings were closely watched by emissaries of the *seyids* and priests of Dizfúl, who, jealous of our visit, endeavoured to excite the Arabs against us. They set fire to the jungle around the sacred tomb, and spread the false report in Dizfúl and the neighbourhood that the two Feringhis had defiled, blown up, and burned the shrine! A Council of the Holy Men was summoned, to consider in what manner the sacrilegious infidels should be punished, and one speaker declared his readiness to put an end to us on the spot! The Chief of the Assembly, however, stood our friend, and dismissed the complaint, declaring that he did not believe a word of it. With strong public feeling against us, we could not at that time do more than complete our plan of the ruins.

The next attempt to make excavations was in January, 1851, when Colonel Williams and party encamped on the mounds with a firman from the Shah, which was obtained through the influence of Colonel Sheil, H. B. M.'s Ambassador. A few Arabs and sturdy Loors from the adjacent mountains were, after much persuasion, induced to enter into our service at high wages.

[2] Now well known as General Sir William F. Williams, Bart., K.C.B., the gallant "Hero of Kars."

[3] To this gentleman I am deeply indebted for many beautiful and careful plans and sketches, some of which accompany this paper.

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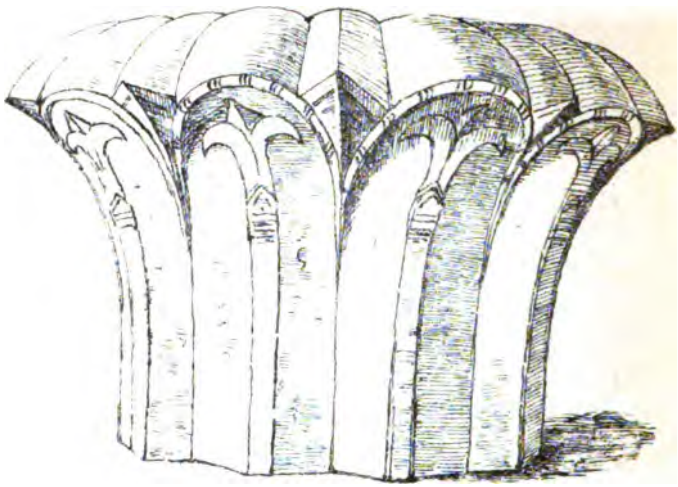

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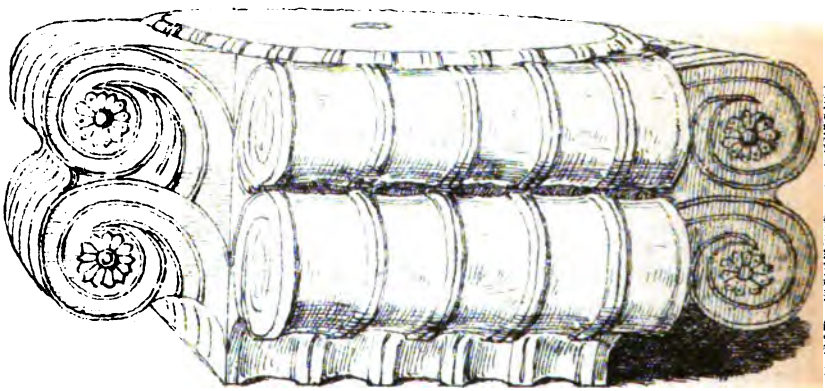

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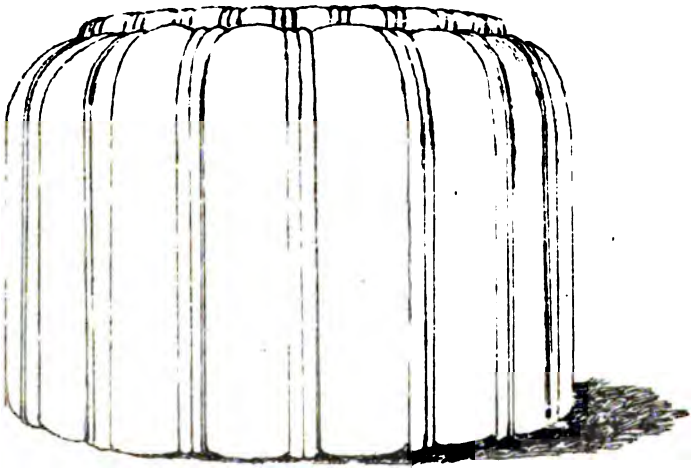

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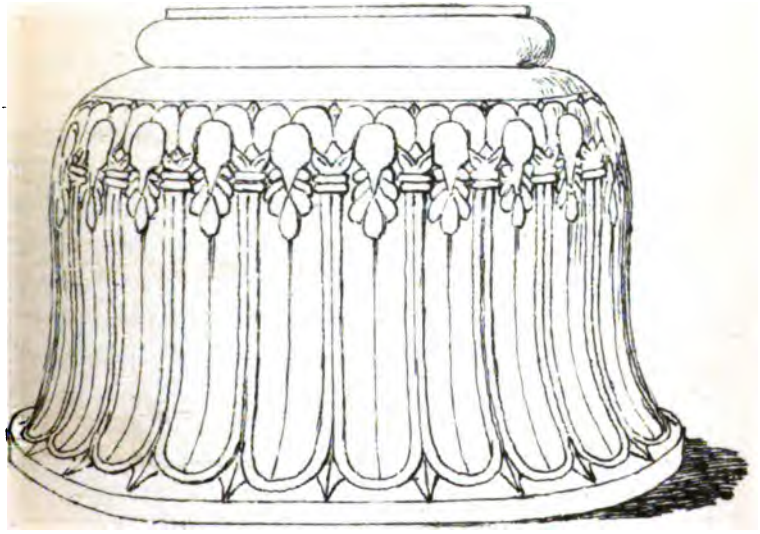

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The first trench was opened on the south side of the Great Mound immediately above the large block of blue limestone which, it is well known, bears the complicated inscription of King Susra in thirty-three lines of old Scythic characters. Other trenches were dug in this mound, but nothing was discovered at nineteen feet deep, except portions of a pavement of large square bricks, and a few fragments of moulded composition bricks of gypsum and pounded quartz, stamped with cuneiform characters, and covered with a rich green enamel.

An important discovery was, however, made on an elevated and rectangular projection to the north, near the centre of the most northerly mound. A trench dug along the edge of this projection revealed three monolith bases of gigantic columns *in situ* and in one line, standing nineteen feet apart. They rested on rough slabs 9 feet square, and 1 ft. 10 in. in thickness, which were set on a gravel foundation. All these bases were unfortunately broken off at the height of 3 ft. 4 in. from the bottom; subsequent excavations, however, disclosed a fragment of the upper portion of the base with a piece of the torus attached, by means of which Mr. Churchill was enabled to make a restored drawing, Pl. I. fig. 2, of the whole. The following are the dimensions:—

	ft.	in.
Height of the plinth		2
Height from plinth to torus . . .	4	1
Diameter at torus	5	4
„ bell	8	4
From centre to centre of columns . .	27	4

The general form, dimensions, and style of orna-

ment of these bases, compared with those in the Great Hall of Xerxes at Persepolis, must strike every person with whom the latter are familiar. They are bell-shaped, and richly sculptured with representations of the Egyptian Lotus. In the Susa base, however, the design and details are more graceful, the grouping of the bud and flower round the swell of the bell forming an elaborate and elegant wreath.

From each column, trenches were carried a considerable distance into the mound, but they yielded only small fragments of fluted shafts, which it is natural to presume belonged to the fallen and broken columns which once surmounted the bases.

On the slope of the mound, west of the bases, *in situ*, were enormous fragments of fluted columns,—an unhewn basement slab,—and portion of a fourth base, lying piled in inextricable confusion.

Nothing more could at that time be discovered of the magnificent building to which these fragments belonged.

The only other objects found during Colonel Williams's excavations were from distant parts of the same mound, viz.—

1. Several portions of an inscription from the broken square base of a small column.
2. The corner of a similar column base with a fragment of bilingual inscription.

The Arabs now in a body refused to work, and, probably urged by the Seyids of Dizfúl, decamped from the neighbourhood.

The Commission was a few days later called away to resume its labours on the frontier, and the excavations were for a time deserted.

During the Parliamentary Session of 1851, the sum of £500 was voted for the purpose of resuming excavations at Susa. With Lord Palmerston's consent it was arranged that I should make such researches as might be suggested by Lieut.-Colonel (now Sir Henry) Rawlinson. Under this arrangement I was directed to proceed from Zoháb to Baghdad, and receive instructions from that gentleman. I quitted Baghdad on the 19th of January, 1852, and succeeded in reaching Dizfúl on the 6th of February, after an adventurous journey of three hundred miles across the desert. This desert is at all times notoriously unsafe, being subject to inroads from the Beni-Lám Arabs on the west, and the Feïli Loors on the east; but at the time of my journey it was more dangerous than usual, as the Segwand Loors had revolted under their chief, Alí Khán, against H. R. H. Khonlar Mírza, the Shah's uncle, then governor of the province. Such being the state of things, and as I was obliged to carry with me a considerable sum of money, I determined on diverging from the direct route, to place myself under the protection of Methkoor, the Sheikh of the Beni Lám. It was fortunate that I did so, for on the following evening I unexpectedly arrived at the camp of Alí Khán and the rebel Sewandees, who would have assuredly robbed me but for the guard sent by Methkoor, with whom Alí Khán proved to be on good terms. As it was, the Loors were exceedingly hospitable, and only ventured to steal the gilt fastening of my servant's cloak! On arrival at Dizfúl, the Prince gave me the necessary authority for excavating in the mounds.

Aware of the jealous and hostile feelings of the

Arabs,[4] I engaged as many Loors as could at that time be collected together, a work of some little difficulty, as the Prince was employing large numbers of men in building a dam across the river Kerkhah, in order to restore the water to the town of Háwíza by re-filling the old channel which the river had abandoned.

THE COLONNADE.

From Colonel Williams's discovery of the three columns, it was naturally to be imagined that some other portions of the edifice, which they adorned, were to be found near at hand. My first trench therefore was opened at about 125 feet distance, on

[4] On one occasion I and my party were attacked by a Cha'ab Arab Sheikh, with about four hundred of his tribe. As my object was to continue the excavations without interruption, I endeavoured to expostulate with the chief, but, while advancing towards him, quite unaccompanied, I was made a target for three volleys of bullets, none of which, fortunately, took effect. Finding that expostulation was useless, at the head of about 150 of my workmen, armed with spades and picks, I charged the Arabs and soon drove them across the Shaour,—not, however, before many heads were broken during the encounter.

The Holy Men of Dizfúl used all their endeavours to dissuade the natives from aiding in what they were pleased to term a sacrilegious work. Each man who left the town for the "diggings" was assured that, if he escaped being killed in the trenches, he would certainly die of cholera before the end of the year! The love of money, however, prevailed, and ere long I was joined by a party of seventeen Seyids, who acted as priests for the rest. Their constant prayers for forgiveness for aiding the infidel were responded to by earnest cries of "Ya Ali!" (Oh Ali!)

Compared with the Arabs of Nineveh, the tribes around Susa are perfect barbarians, and correctly answer to the description given of the Cossæi by Pliny, viz. "brigands and thieves generally all."

the north side of the same platform. I almost immediately struck on a large basement slab, situated close to the edge of the mound. A circle, 8 ft. 4 in. in diameter, was clearly traceable upon the surface, proving that it had once supported a column base of similar dimensions to those already laid bare. At 68 ft. 4 in. from the centre of the circle, and parallel to the line of the three bases, a large monolith pedestal was reached. It measured 8 ft. square, and was 2 ft. 5 in. high, up to a ledge of 9 inches depth; from this it was continued a foot higher and was then broken off. Beyond this, in the same line, at intervals of 27 ft. 3 in., were four similar square monoliths (much more dilapidated than the first), and a vacant space for another, thus marking in all the positions of six columns.

Returning to the first of the square pedestals, I caused a trench to be dug at right angles. At the same distance apart as before, were four more pedestals, with their basement slabs on the east, and one on the west.

Further excavations disclosed sufficient to prove that the monolith bases formed part of a magnificent Colonnade, having a frontage to the north of 343 feet 9 inches, and a depth of 244 feet. It consisted of a central square of thirty-six columns, with square pedestals, flanked on the west, north, and east by a similar number, with bell-shaped bases, the latter being arranged in groups of twelve, or in double rows containing six each.

The plan and measurements of this Colonnade agree in a remarkable manner with those of the Great Hall of Xerxes, at Persepolis. It is highly probable

that both edifices were designed (though not finished) by the same architect.

Of the inner phalanx of thirty-six columns, no fewer than twenty bases or basement slabs were uncovered. It is probable that several others are *in situ*; but as the object of the excavations was merely exploratory, it was not deemed necessary to dig for them.

Of the exterior groups there remain on the west the three of the inner row discovered by Colonel Williams,—and the portion of one which has been mentioned as lying among a confused mass of fragments on the slope of the mound, and which there can be little doubt was one of the exterior row of this western group.

On the north, the basement slabs of three of the inner row were uncovered; and on the east, two of the outer and two of the inner rows.

The ground plan, which accompanies this Paper, gives the positions of the bases or basement slabs discovered.

The spaces between the monoliths were strewn with huge fragments of the fallen shafts and capitals. From these were taken the measurements for the accompanying drawings, which are, in all cases, very careful restorations, nothing having been admitted for which there was not sufficient proof. It is observable that the columns agree in almost every particular* with

* It should be explained that the compound capitals of Susa, and one variety at Persepolis, consist of four members, fig. 2 being the lowest, fig. 3 the next in order. This is succeeded by fig. 4 twice repeated, the lower portion having the volutes turned in the opposite direction. Double demi-bulls surmount the whole, between the necks of which rested the beams of the roof. See Plate I.

those at Persepolis, except that, in figure 4, only one-half of the voluted portion of the capital is shown, there not having been sufficient fragments to reconstruct it all. The horns and ears of the double demi-bulls are wanting, and these have been probably removed for the sake of the metal by which they were attached to the heads.

As regards the columns of the central phalanx at Persepolis, Mr. Fergusson[5] doubts if they were surmounted by the double bull. At Susa, however, there appears to be little doubt that they were, for the body of one bull, falling perpendicularly, has cut away a large piece from the east side of its pedestal, and still lies resting against it. The head of a second bull lies against the west side of another pedestal, while on the opposite side are huge fragments of the body. To the south of a third pedestal is another nearly perfect head.

On removing the earth from around one of the central pedestals on the north side of the phalanx, there was discovered upon the horizontal ledge on the west, south, and east sides a trilingual cuneiform inscription, each version containing five lines, and extending 6 ft. 4 in. in length, and 7 inches in breadth. The cutting is as sharp and admirably preserved as though it had been done but yesterday. On the north side there is no inscription. The Scythic version occupying the west side is perfect, with the exception of a few characters. The Persian copy wants nearly the whole of the last two lines, and the Babylonian, on the east, is entirely destroyed in the centre, by the fall of the bull, as above mentioned.

[5] See 'The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis restored,' p. 162.

The corresponding pedestal is so much damaged that only a few characters remain,—sufficient however to prove that a trilingual inscription once also existed upon it.

On the pedestal behind the first, the Scythic inscription is completely destroyed, and the other versions are much mutilated. This monolith had been previously injured before the cutting of the records; pieces of stone, neatly let in, were secured with iron or lead. These pieces have been subsequently broken out.

Of the fourth pedestal only the basement slab remains, but there can be little doubt of the former existence of an inscription here also, because these four columns occupy the centres of the first and second rows in the grand phalanx, and mark the position of the façade of the Colonnade.

These inscriptions are in many respects highly interesting. They are the sole records extant of Artaxerxes Mnemon, who conquered the Greeks at the battle of Cunaxa; and they record the completion of the palace, dedicated to the Goddesses Tanaitis and Mithra, which had been commenced by Darius, the son of Hystaspes. This adds to the probability that the colonnades at Susa and Persepolis were the productions of the same architect.

Some of the cuneiform variants are remarkable, and indicate in the terminations of the words a debased state of the language at that epoch.

The following is a partial translation of the Scythic version of these records, as read by Mr. Norris:[6]

"Says Artaxerxes the great king, the king of kings, the king of the country, the king of this earth:—'(I am) the son of king

[6] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xv. p. 162.

Darius,—Darius (was) the son of King Artaxerxes,—Artaxerxes (was) the son of King Xerxes,—Xerxes (was) the son of King Darius,—Darius was the son of Hystaspes the Achæmenian. This temple Darius my ancestor made; subsequently it was restored (?) by Artaxerxes my grandfather. By help of Ormazd I placed Tanaitis (and) Mithra in this temple (?). Ormazd, Tanaitis, and Mithra protect me, with the gods (?), and all that I have done.'" . . .

Several trenches were dug between the central phalanx and the outer groups of columns, for the sake of ascertaining if there had been an intermediate wall to support the roof (if any) between the two groups, such as Mr. Fergusson[7] has suggested, to have stood in a similar position at Persepolis. There were no indications of such a wall. From the fact of there being no inscription on the north side of the four square pedestals, which undoubtedly stood at the principal entrance to the central phalanx, I am disposed to think that the exterior rows of columns in this group were exposed to the weather, or only connected with the outer groups by means of curtains.

In the hope of finding sculptured or inscribed slabs forming an external basement wall as at Persepolis, several trenches were dug into the edge of the mound, but without success. It is however impossible to conceive how, without some massive support, the immense weight of the platform and its Colonnade could have been sustained. If slabs had existed and been forced outwards by the superincumbent pressure,

[7] See *loc. cit.*, p. 145. In the Colonnade at Persepolis the jambs of two entrances between the central phalanx and front row of columns are certainly in favour of Mr. Fergusson's restoration; but it is remarkable that no other trace of an intermediate wall occurs either there or at Susa.

they would have been discovered by the trenches. It is probable, however, that no such slabs adorned the Great Hall at Susa;

1st. Because, not the slightest fragment of sculptured bas-relief was discovered in any of the trenches.

2nd. Because, deep in one of the excavations, there were some large square bricks cemented with bitumen,—evidently the foundation of a strong wall, which I presume to have occupied, at Susa, the place of the Persepolitan bas-reliefs.

The destruction of the Colonnade may, not without reason, be attributed to the removal of the bricks of this sustaining wall. If this were the case, the outer range of columns would, of necessity, soon fall,—the remainder of the Colonnade rapidly follow,—and the smaller fragments of the columns be removed by some of the degenerate races who subsequently occupied the site, and who probably burned them for lime, or used them in the construction of their more humble dwellings. This will also account for so few portions of the brick sustaining-wall being found.

Immediately behind the Colonnade nothing was discovered; but a little farther towards the south-west was a well-made pavement of large square bricks, upon which lay many interesting architectural scraps. The following are the most important, viz. portions of fallen walling of moulded composition bricks, coloured and glazed on one or two sides, similarly to those found by Colonel Williams in the Great Mound;—many of these were stamped in high relief, but the figures and designs being large, they were

quite unintelligible, as I was unable to fit them together; the colours were exquisitely preserved. Several bore the symbol of the winged deity; one exhibited the rosette, which adorns the necks of the demi-bulls of the columns, and which ornaments the caps of the monster bulls in the Propylæum at Persepolis; it is also commonly met with on the elaborate pavement designs, and on enamelled bricks at Nineveh. On one small fragment were a few large cuneiform characters painted black. Specimens of these objects are now in the British Museum.

Upon the flat upper surface of almost every one of these composition bricks were some peculiar marks, resembling those on the stonework of the Takht-i-Solimán, at the ruins of Pasargada,—of the ruins of Al Hathr, near Mosúl,—upon the hewn blocks at the base of the celebrated Rock of Bisútún,—and on various other buildings of ancient Persia. They are generally considered to be builders' marks. Those on the bricks at Susa are of three kinds:—

1. A mere scratch, made, when the composition was in a soft state, with a knife or other sharp instrument.
2. A small well-formed character near the front edge of the brick, generally in black glaze and in strong relief.
3. A rude mark in any coloured glaze, laid on probably with a brush or piece of stick.

The only other object found on the pavement was a fragment of the base of a small column, which had probably supported the roof of a chamber in the interior of the palace. It bore a few characters of inscription.

At about 500 feet to the south of the Colonnade, a small jar of glazed earthenware was dug up close to the surface of the mound, and six feet above the pavement. It contained an interesting collection of Kufic silver coins, but was broken by the workmen. A general scramble ensuing for the contents, many were thus unfortunately lost. The following are the places of mintage and dates of the Hejeh of the coins now in the British Museum, for the determination of which I am indebted to Mr. Vaux:—

	A. H.						
Damascus . .	79	82	83	84	86	87	88
	89	90	91	92	93	94	95
	96	97	98	99	100	105	106
Basrah . . .	80	81	82	87			
Wáset . . .	88	94	99	105	108		
Shús . . .	90						
Rei	90						
Teimar . . .	91						
Herát . . .	90						
Shâhpúr . . .	91	92	94				
Istakhr . . .	91						
Sejestán . .	92						
Darabjerd . .	92	97					
Dschey . . .	92	94					
Merv . . .	93						
Kermán . . .	95						
Kúfa . . .	101						
Máhy . . .	6						

The Ommiade Khálifs	reigned during		
Abd-al-Malek	79 to 84	A. H.	
Walíd ben Abd-al-Malek . . .	86	96	,,
Solimán ben Abd-al-Malek . .	97	99	,,
Omar ben Abd-al-Azíz . . .	100	101	,,
Heshám	105	106	,,
The earliest date, 79 A. H., corresponds with		698	A. D.
The latest date, 108 A. H., ,,		726	,,

The earth having filtered through the mouth of the jar, thirty or forty of the coins were agglutinated together. The rest, however, are in a perfect state of preservation, and those bearing the latest dates are as sharp as though but newly struck off the die. They could not have been long in circulation before they were buried, which was probably done about 110 A.H. or 729 A.D. From the fact of there being only a few inches of soil over, while there was an accumulation of six feet beneath them, it may be fairly presumed that the destruction of the palace—above the pavement of which they were discovered—was long prior to the above date. From a circumstance hereafter to be mentioned, there is every reason to believe that this event is attributable to the Greek occupation of Susa.

THE GREAT MOUND OR CITADEL.

Arrian says, that "the King (Alexander), being resolved to march into Persia, appointed Archelaus governor of the city of Susa, with a garrison of 3000 men; Mezarus, one of the lords of his court, was made governor of the citadel, with 1000 Macedonian soldiers, who could not follow him by reason of their great age. He gave the government of Susiana to Abulites." From this passage it is evident that the city and citadel of Susa were distinct from each other; and as such is the case with the Great Mound and the ther ruins at the present day, I have no hesitation n believing, from its commanding position, that the Great Mound is the citadel alluded to.

No very important remains of edifices were detected

in this mound, although there is evidence of such having existed. Several small objects of considerable interest were however dug up at the top of the road, by which the summit of the mound is most easily reached at its north angle. Among these I may enumerate the following:—

1. A small fragment of polished basalt, probably a portion of a statue. It exhibited faint indications of a cuneiform inscription of great age.
2. The neck of a bird rudely sculptured in sandstone.
3. A block of blue limestone, apparently a broken gate-pillar.
4. Part of a yellow limestone slab, bearing a much defaced and weathered inscription in late Susian characters.
5. A mortar-shaped vessel containing a quantity of bitumen, in which was embedded a fragment of sheep's jaw. It was, probably, a fire altar.

From the supposed gate-post, a foundation-wall ran from east to west, built of large, fifteen-inch square, flat bricks. From the lowest layers were extracted several bearing extremely complicated inscriptions upon one side of each. As these records were invariably built inwards and cemented in lime mortar instead of bitumen, they have most probably been removed from a more ancient foundation. In one instance an inscription was carried along two sides of a brick.

At a few feet to the north of this wall stood a well-built circular pillar of brick, three feet in diameter upon a five feet base, on a level with which was a solid and more ancient foundation wall than that

above described. Upon this wall, at seventeen feet from the pillar, was a fragment of a slab bearing an inscription. It is of red sandstone, and now, I believe, in the British Museum, as are also the bricks above mentioned. One corner of this fragment has undoubtedly been subject to the action of fire.

In the earth near this slab were several articles:—a small *crux-ansata* in ivory, about two inches long; a bundle of iron spear-heads cemented together; and two or three flat copper ornaments, probably belonging to horses' trappings.

By far the most interesting objects, however, found near the surface at this locality, were numerous fragments of zoned-alabaster vases, some of which must have been of considerable dimensions. Four of these, now deposited in the British Museum, bear inscriptions. The largest fragment, about five inches long, exhibits nearly the whole of the royal name "Xerxes," in three lines of trilingual cuneiform characters. Below this legend, and close to the broken edge, is a vertical line, indicating that some other inscription once existed. As a second small fragment bears the Egyptian cartouch of "Xerxes," I have little doubt that the same was also inscribed below its cuneiform equivalents on the larger fragment. Another piece has the terminal characters of the same king's name. A fragment, subsequently discovered in a distant part of the ruins, has inscribed on it the word "great,"—evidently the final word of an inscription. The Persian legend, when entire, undoubtedly was—

	Monogr. for	
Khshayárshá	khsháyathiya	wazarka.
Xerxes	*king*	*great.*

These fragmentary vases and relics do not fail to remind us of the celebrated porphyry vase at Venice, with the cuneatic and hieroglyphic legends of Artaxerxes Ochus (?), the descendant of Xerxes,—one of the earliest deciphered of cuneiform inscriptions.

On showing the above fragments to the venerable guardian of the Prophet's Tomb, and remarking how much I valued them, he exclaimed, "What a pity! a long time ago I found a cup like that, but three times larger. It was quite perfect and covered with writing, but I did not know its value, and so broke it up to make pipe-bowls and mouth-pieces!" I could only add my regrets to his on the loss of such a treasure.

There is undoubted evidence of an important edifice having been destroyed by fire at the north point of this mound, where the above-mentioned articles were discovered. Many of the bricks were perfectly black, and mixed with ashes.

THE CENTRAL PLATFORM.

This extensive platform is situated to the east of the Citadel and Colonnade mounds, and is separated from the former by a wide space, probably an ancient moat now filled up, and on a level with the surrounding plains. A slight hollow—apparently an old road—divides it from the Colonnade Platform.

The highest point is about seventy feet on the south side, but on the north side it does not exceed fifty feet. Its eastern face measures 3000 feet.

Upon the slope of one of the numerous ravines at the south corner, I had frequently noticed the base of a small column half protruding from the soil. It was

a miniature copy of the great bell-shaped bases of the Colonnade, but less highly ornamented. On digging away the edge of the mound there was disclosed a heterogeneous collection of rough-hewn blocks, fragments of fluted shafts, and bases of small columns, portions of a cornice with the rosette ornament, etc. At the depth of eight feet was a rude pavement, upon which were the bases of two other columns, similar in general character to the first. Their dimensions are—

	ft.	in.
Height from ground to the torus, including a 2-inch plinth	1	5
Height of torus	0	4½
Height of cincture	0	1¼
Total height	1	10¾
Circumference of plinth	8	0
„ cincture	6	0

Around the swell of the bell on one of these bases, immediately under the torus, ran a trilingual cuneiform inscription:—

"I am Artaxerxes, the great king, the king of kings, of King Darius the son."

A great portion of the Babylonian version is destroyed, as well as the termination of the Scythic, but the whole of the Persian copy is complete.

The column-shafts were 1 ft. 8 in. in diameter, the width of each fluting being 2½ inches; there would consequently be twenty-four flutings to the column.

On taking up the pavement, it proved to be composed of blue and yellow blocks of marble, the fragments of some beautiful palace which had been utterly destroyed. Among the relics were pieces of fluted

slabs with borders of rosettes, a yellow limestone block having a fragmentary record upon one side, and a still more ancient and defaced inscription on another side.

At about 200 feet to the west of the above excavations, a trench was dug at the edge of the mound, through a slight conical protuberance caused by some Arab graves. Immediately under these, at the depth of ten feet, was a small column-base of dark blue limestone. The measurements were—

Pedestal,	7	inches	high,	3	feet	9	inches	square.
Plinth	7	,,	,,	2	,,	9	,,	,,
Torus	5	,,	,,	2	,,	5	,,	diameter.

The following Greek inscription, in letters two-thirds of an inch in length, was upon the left corner on the north side of the pedestal.

ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΥ
ΣΩΜΑΤΟΦΥΛΑΞΑΡΡΕΝΕΙΔΗΝ
ΑΡΡΕΝΕΙΔΟΥΤΟΝΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΝ
ΤΗΣΣΟΥΣΙΑΝΗΣΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΟΥΦΙΛΟΝ

Translation.

"Pythagoras, the son of Aristarchus,—captain of the body-guard,—(in honour of) his friend Arreneides, the son of Arreneides, Governor of Susiana."

This epitaph is upside down, and appears to have been cut while the column stood as at present. The letters are sharp and unworn, presenting a remarkable contrast with the aspect of the column itself, which, from the polished state of its broken edges, is evidently of much greater antiquity. A fracture divides the pedestal into two parts, about two inches beyond the last letters in each line of the inscription,

which appears to have been framed to suit the fracture. The only position at which the record could be cut on the pedestal *in situ*, is at one of the left-hand corners, and this only by the sculptor kneeling on his right knee. All these facts lead to the conclusion that the record was inscribed subsequently to the erection of the column. If the base be considered as having originally been the capital of a Doric column, the supposition is untenable on account of the pedestal, which forms a portion of the same monolith.[8] Besides this, some more suitable position would certainly have been chosen in a façade than the corner of a fractured capital. Its present situation as a base was, however, well decided on, as the inscription was there protected from the inclemency of the weather on the exposed south front of the building.

In favour of this view is the fact, that another column base of coarse yellow limestone stands fifteen feet farther to the north of the centre of the first base. Upon the pedestal of this also, in the same inverted position, and on its north side, is another, but unfinished Greek inscription. The letters are very rudely cut:—

ΤΩΝΕΝΤΟΙΣΠΡ

This base is much smaller than the first.

Southward of the larger base were two more of yellow limestone and bell-shaped. One was perfectly plain, 2 feet in height, and 1 ft. 9½ in. in diameter at the torus. The other was ornamented in the same style as that bearing the inscription of Artaxerxes

[8] The torus has a semicircular section, while the moulding of a Doric capital is of this form:—

(page 441); it measured 1 ft. 10 in. in diameter, and 1 ft. 9½ in. at the torus.

From the perfectly dissimilar styles of these four bases, it is evident that they had been removed from other buildings; and on taking up the irregular blue and white marble pavement below them, I discovered that it was formed of other bases and fragments piled together from the ruins of the palace adjacent.

When these facts are considered in connection with that of there being a depth of but six feet of soil between the early Kufic coins and the pavement behind the Great Colonnade on the adjoining mound, we may not be far wrong in concluding that the Greeks were the perpetrators of the barbarous destruction of these Achæmenian palaces.

In the British Museum is a Persian daric of a certain Pythagoras, who is supposed to have flourished about 320 B.C. It is probable that the same was the Pythagoras of the inscription. If so, we may undoubtedly assume that the palaces at Susa were destroyed by Alexander the Great himself.

At any rate, we are certain, from the mention of Susiana on the column-base in Greek characters, that these vast mounds must represent the Susa of the Greek historians.

Fragments of two statuettes, apparently of Greek design, were obtained from a neighbouring trench. They are carved in pure alabaster, and represent the bust and feet of a female figure.

From a trench twenty-two feet deep at the south-west corner of this platform were procured nearly two hundred terra-cotta figures. They were heaped together loose in the earth, with three vases of peculiar

form. The most interesting is that of a naked female, representing the Goddess Anaïtis. The hands supporting the breasts are emblematical of fecundity. The features are decidedly Assyrian; the hair is cropped short across the forehead, as is now the custom with females in Persia. The head-dress bears some resemblance to the high cap worn by Jewish ladies throughout the East. A chain, with an ornament attached, depends from the neck, and the earrings are very elaborate. They were cast in different moulds, but only six were perfect, in consequence of the superincumbent weight of earth. Two other figures represent an old man and a female (?) playing upon instruments similar to the native *zantoor*. There were two or three other rude human figures, and several still more primitive models of the Indian bull, sheep, and horse. Near the surface of this trench were several clay vases, among which were a few specimens of the circular glazed vessel of Egyptian form, similar to those discovered at Nineveh and Babylon.

At some distance from this trench was obtained a baked clay mould of the Anaïtis figures above described.

A few rude clay coffins,[9] vases, and glass articles were likewise found on this mound. These are, perhaps, of Parthian or Sassanian workmanship.

[9] The most common form of coffin at Susa is a cylindrical jar, rounded at one end, and pierced with numerous holes. As I was never able to extract the cranium of the skeleton through the mouth of the jar without breakage, it is probable that the clay was moulded in a soft state round the corpse, and then *baked with the body in it*, the holes being intended for the escape of the condensed gas!

THE EASTERN MOUND.

My funds having become exhausted, this extensive but low mound was scarcely examined by excavation, and failed to afford information of any value.

THE BLACK STONE.[10]

To obtain possession of, or at least to copy, the inscription on the celebrated Black Stone of Susa, was one of the instructions with which I was charged; but the prosecution of the general excavations was not to be risked by a show of too much anxiety regarding this object of local and ancient veneration.

It was not, therefore, until near the close of the excavations that a negotiation was entered into with the old gentleman who broke up the alabaster bowl for his pipes. After considerable hesitation on his part, the preliminaries were duly arranged for extracting it by night from a pillar of the verandah, within the precincts of the sacred shrine, into which it had been built to prevent any attempts at carrying it off by stealth. It is supposed that the well-being of the province depends on the safe custody of this black stone. Hence there is great suspicion attached to any inquiries concerning it, and on this account it is hidden by the priests.

Our plans could not be carried into effect until the workmen were dismissed. Unfortunately, however, on the appointed night the arrival of a flock of pilgrims to the tomb prevented the execution of

[10] Some account of this black stone is given in Walpole's 'Turkey,' vol. ii. p. 420.

our project. I remained in camp upon the mound for several days, but the numbers of the devout increased instead of diminished. The annual visitation of the Dizfulees to the shrine had this year commenced earlier than usual in consequence of the anxiety to see the excavations, of which the most absurd and exaggerated reports had spread throughout the country. I was therefore most unwillingly obliged to abandon the ruins without effecting the desired object.

From the custodian of the tomb I gleaned the following information concerning this wonderful black stone, which is worth recording:—

About the year 1800 it was standing at the top of the roadway on the summit of the Great Mound. The old man, then a boy, after many unsuccessful attempts, at length rolled it over the side of the mound. For several years it lay on the bank of the Shaour, and was reduced to the ignominious office of a washing-block. In this position it was seen by Sir Robert Gordon in 1812, who made an attempt to carry it away, and also, I believe, by our unfortunate countrymen, Captains Grant and Fotheringham,[11] in 1809. These officers endeavoured to purchase it of the old man, but failing to conclude a bargain "they went away," he said, "to the mountains and never returned, for they were murdered by the Feili chief, Kelb Ali Khan!" It was afterwards blown to pieces by some avaricious party who magined, from the anxiety of the Feringhis to obtain

[11] A Prayer-book of the latter gentleman was purchased in 1850 the bazaar at Kermanshah, and was sent by Colonel Williams to ord Palmerston.

possession of the relic, that it contained treasure. The fragments were then collected and built into one of the pillars of the tomb, to prevent their being stolen by the suspected Europeans.

My informant stated that not a single fragment is larger than a man's hand. It would not, I am convinced, be a difficult matter to obtain possession of these fragments by a little skilful manœuvring.

Up to the year 1851, the only piece of sculpture exposed at Susa was a trough of yellow marble, which was lying in the river Shaour, at the foot of the tomb. Around the sides is an archaic representation of two animals standing over two prisoners, who have their arms bound. It is doubtful whether these animals are lions or dogs. Sir R. Ker Porter, in his work, has given a rough and very incorrect drawing of this sculpture.

The walls of the tomb on our first visit contained several fragments of inscribed bricks; but such was the jealousy of the seyids and priests, that they were all subsequently extracted and hidden, lest we should carry them away.

Several small columns, similar to those already described, lie at Daniel's Tomb, and are built into the foundations of other Imáms [12] in the vicinity. Others are scattered about the ruins and surrounding plains.

In conclusion I venture to make a few remarks on the results of the excavations at Shúsh. Although not productive of such brilliant and important discoveries as attended those at Nineveh, they never-

[12] Tombs of "Saints" are so called in Persia and Arabia.

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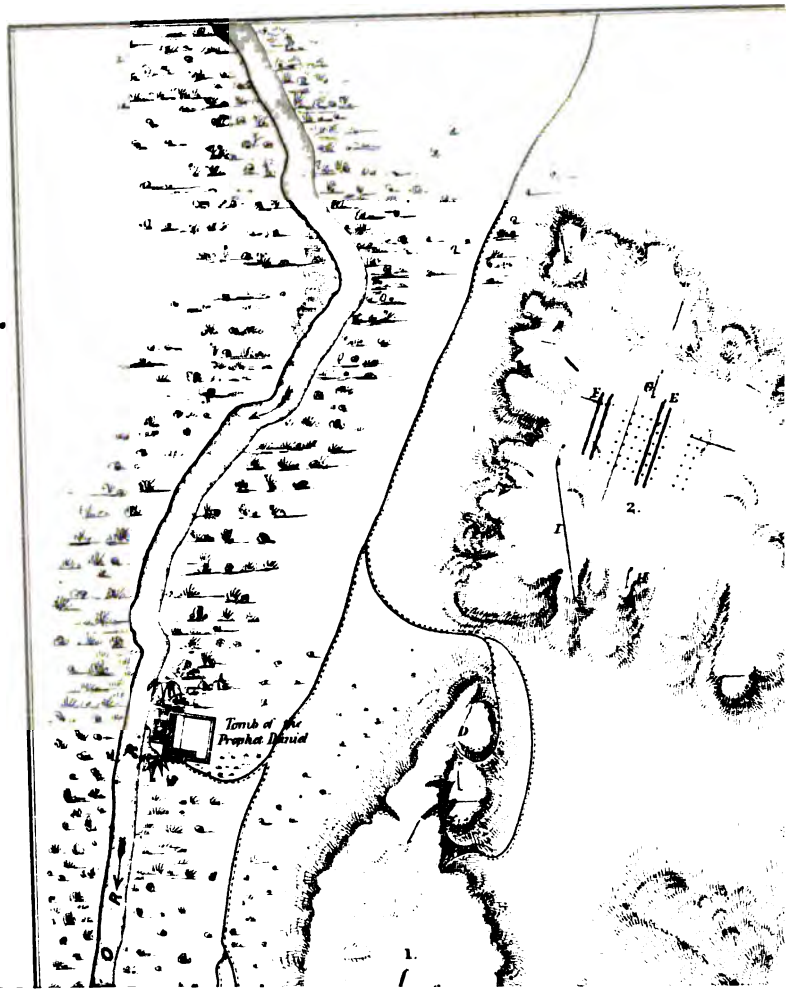
Tomb of the
Prophet Daniel
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s establish several important facts and afford grounds for conjecture.

need no longer be contested whether modern ler,—the mounds of Shúsh,—or Súsan, in the ktiyari Mountains, is the site of the celebrated . of the Greeks. The relics of the palaces un- ed could, from their extent, only have pertained e of the most favoured residences of the Persian s. No other site but Shúsh will answer the riptions of the ancient geographers. If other were wanting, the mention of Susiana in the k epitaph of Arreneides ought alone to be decisive he identification of Shúsh with Susa.

he extensive remains at this locality, and at Per- lis, are decidedly the most remarkable and mag- ent which are to be seen in Southern Persia. first questions which naturally suggest them- es to the beholder are, "By whom were those sive and columnar structures first reared?" and, Whence originated the peculiar styles of architec- e therein displayed?"

The discovery of the palace at Susa, built on al- st the same scale as the so-called "Great Hall Xerxes" at Persepolis, throws valuable light on r knowledge of the architecture and history of the riod.

The inscription of Artaxerxes expressly informs us t the Colonnade at Susa was begun by Darius the son Hystaspes.[13] Much doubt has, however, been thrown the age of that at Persepolis. Although it bears commemorative legend of Xerxes, Colonel Rawlin-

[13] Pliny, in book vi. chap. 27, says that Susa was founded by that monarch.

son thinks that it was originally founded by Darius, but finished by his son. In this opinion I entirely concur, because, as the two colonnades agree so nearly in plan and measurements, as well as in ornamental details generally, it is but reasonable to conclude that they were designed, although they may not have been finished, by the same architect.

The massive doorways, with their inclining jambs, and the large cavetto cornices at Persepolis, proclaim at once a connection with Egyptian art. The columns have a peculiarity which induces me to hazard the following remarks concerning them.

Until within the last few years, it was universally supposed that the voluted capital originated in Ionia about 540 B. C. Recent discoveries at Nineveh have, however, proved that this capital was known and in use in Assyria as early as the reign of Sennacherib, about 700 B. C. It is by no means improbable that the Ionic order had a still more eastern source, and was previously invented by the early inhabitants of Persia.[14] It is true we have no positive proof that this was the case, but such evidence as we possess establishes the fact beyond a doubt that columnar structures on a magnificent scale, and exhibiting an originality of conception, were erected in Persia as early as about 500 B. C. Such were probably the peculiar characteristics of Persian architecture long anterior to the age of Cyrus (who began to reign 538 B. C.), and of which the two columns at Pasar-

[14] It may be objected that the Arian races were not celebrated for originality of invention. Their descendants, the modern Persians, however, are among the most ingenious people in the East, therefore the objection founded on negative evidence is, I submit, scarcely conclusive in this question.

gada may be remnants. That none others exist should not surprise us, when we consider that those regions are at times subject to violent earthquakes.

I am rather inclined to believe that the above supposition is correct, but I by no means insist upon it. It may be, however, that the mixture of Persian and Greek forms of architecture, as exhibited both at Persepolis and Susa, may have originated during the time of the first Darius.

The fluted columns show much of the elegance and refinement of Greek art, but the capitals are overloaded with ornament and of barbaric conception. They give the impression that the Persians desired to surpass all other nations in the magnificence and grandeur, rather than in the simplicity and purity, of their royal edifices. The poetical feeling of the Persians may, however, have intended the superimposed combination of the date-palm, lotus flower, volute, and bull, of the capitals, to be symbolical of the Persian sway over Arabia, Egypt, Greece, and Assyria.

M. Flandin, in his description of Persepolis, published in the 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' commits the grave error of considering that its sculptured relics are worthy of being classed with Grecian art. Laying aside all prejudice, they cannot be so regarded. They are rather the works of a nation when its still barbaric civilization was degenerating, and, as such, they are more than ordinarily interesting.

Another point of importance is the orthography of the Artaxerxes inscriptions. It affords additional strength to Colonel Rawlinson's supposition that the Persian language had, from some cause or other, become materially corrupted during the Achæmenian

period, or between the time of Darius and that of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

The absence of sculptured bas-reliefs at Susa need not surprise us when we consider the distance of the ruins from the mountains, whence the building stone was procured. Unlike Nineveh and Persepolis, where the materials were close at hand, Susa was situated not less than thirty miles from the nearest quarry. The great wonder is that so much stone was actually employed in the construction of the palaces.

The stone used is a dark blue limestone, belonging to the lower tertiary or upper cretaceous formations. It is generally saccharoidal and exceedingly hard, having a conchoidal fracture. Some parts of the stone exhibit a slaty texture, and to this cause may be ascribed the decaying state of several of the monoliths, as well as the thick growth of underwood on the surface arising from their decomposed calcareous matter. A similar stone is used throughout the edifices at Persepolis.

Some of the smaller columns, and the sculptured trough at the tomb, are cut out of a cream-coloured limestone, having the same general characters as the blue, and derived from the upper beds of the tertiary rocks.

With the small sum at my disposal for actual excavation, it was utterly impossible to make a thorough examination of the vast area covered by the ruins. It is worthy of notice that the remains discovered were at a remarkably shallow depth from the surface. The inscribed bricks and slab at the summit of the roadway on the Great Mound were at the depth of only twelve feet. The column-base,

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Plan of the Great Hall of Columns at Susa.

with the Greek inscription, was but ten feet, while one of the monoliths of the Colonnade was actually projecting through the soil. No fragments of marble occurred below fourteen feet, although several trenches were carried to a considerable depth. Structures of the highest interest and antiquity may yet remain buried, and reward the enterprise of some future explorer. It is not too much to hope that this locality will furnish a complete cuneiform legend with its hieroglyphic and Greek equivalents, and thus decide on a correct and undoubted interpretation of the arrow-headed character.

At any rate Susa is not yet exhausted. Excavations on a larger scale may bring to light relics of the early Susian palaces, the operations against which by the kings of Assyria are depicted on the bas-reliefs at Nineveh discovered by Mr. Layard.

If further excavations should be made, it will be necessary to carry trenches to a much greater depth than, with my limited funds, I was able to effect.

In this paper I have occasionally departed from the simple narrative of the discoveries, and ventured to speculate on dates and questions which, it may be thought, would have been better avoided. If not of value in themselves, these remarks may at least serve to direct the attention of others to a few interesting points. I have acted on the principle that it is always best to record such impressions as occur on the spot, and I therefore deprecate any very severe criticism from those who are more conversant with such subjects than myself.

WM. KENNETT LOFTUS.

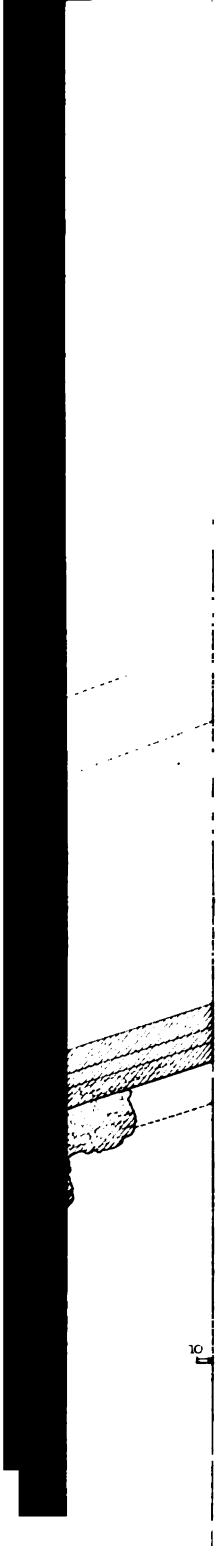
XXIII.—ON THE RECENT EXCAVATIONS AND
COVERIES ON THE AVENTINE HILL IN ROME

BY CARDINAL WISEMAN.

(Read June 26th, 1856.)

Of the seven hills of Rome, there is not perhaps
more intimately connected with the origin of the
real or mythological, yet scarcely one less intere
in general to the antiquary, than the Aventine.
preserves the traces of no historical edifice, scar
the lines of walls or obscure masses of brickw
which leave room for interesting conjecture.
new discovery therefore, in this portion of the anc
city, comes upon us with double interest, and se
well worthy of record.

Any one who has visited Rome will easily remem
the position and appearance of the Aventine. As
has directed his steps towards the Ostian Gate, to vi
the rebuilt Basilica of St. Paul's, he may recollect, t
after passing the beautiful temple of Vesta, the hig
road, yet within the walls, becomes narrowed, on t
right side by the Tiber running close under it, on t
left by a high hill rising almost perpendicular, cl
in green to its summit, which is crowned by garde
and the towers of three churches close together.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After the third, the hill gradually slopes down to the Tiber; but beyond the valley thus made, it rises again gently, so as to present another eminence less lofty, and much richer in ruins, known by the name of the "false Aventine." It is with the first, that is the "true Aventine," that we have to deal this evening. An easy road, from near the temple mentioned, leads us along its ridge, within or beyond the line of churches and their enclosures, to which we have alluded. The first of these is the Basilica of Santa Sabina, which flanks the road on the right, having however a considerable opening between it and the roadway. It is not my duty to describe this interesting monument, nor to speak of its many peculiarities; but my hearers must be good enough to go into the adjoining convent with me, by a door beside that of the church, to pass through a curious covered court, once the *atrium* of the church, and to rise by a few steps, through a spacious cloister, resembling others of the middle ages in Rome, into the spacious garden, which reaches to the very edge of the hill, and commands one of the most beautiful views that I know.

Even this however must not now detain us. Suffice it to say, that from the parapet we look down upon the road below, the Tiber, and, on its further bank, the magnificent hospital of San Michele a Ripa, till the view is bounded by the Janiculum; while on the left, Rome is seen unrolled as on a map, with that wonderful commingling of ancient and modern, ruin and freshness, stone and greenness, which form its peculiar charm, till the purple line of Sabine hills cuts the azure of the sky.

In this garden is situated the scene of our present

researches, and therefore we must make ourselves acquainted with its history and its inhabitants. As to the first, our traveller's guide will have told us that the cave of Cacus was supposed to have been at its foot, and perhaps the grove of the Furies: while above we are on comparatively modern ground. The monastery was the site of the palace of Pope Honorius III., who was Pontiff in 1226. He bestowed it upon St. Dominic; and his Order, that of the Dominicans, has held possession of it since. The community now established there is remarkable for its exact observance of rule, and edifying discharge of every duty. It is extremely poor, and was plundered of the little which it possessed, indeed of all its furniture except three beds, in 1848. At its head however is a French Prior of peculiar qualities. Those who know the history of the Dominican Order will not be surprised to hear of its possessing artists of high eminence. The celebrated Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, known generally by the name of Beato Angelico, and Fra Bartolomeo della Porta, are the greatest artists of the Order, but many others have belonged to it.

Père Besson, the present Prior of Sta. Sabina, was a painter of great merit before he joined the Order; and since that time he has painted in fresco the walls of the Chapter-house of San Sisto, the first house of the Dominicans.

All that I have said is in strict connection with what I am about to describe.

About last October the religious of this community undertook to remodel their garden, and to reduce it more to what is called on the Continent, out of compliment to us, an English garden. As I have said however, they

were poor in the extreme, and therefore they depended entirely on the labour of their own hands, and could not afford to hire workmen. During their recreation hours they laboured hard and cheerfully, until their exertions took a new direction. For suddenly and unexpectedly, in digging, they broke into a vault, which arrested their previous operations, and from gardeners turned the good religious into excavators.

Now came the advantage of having an artist at the head of the community. Any one who has seen and known P. Besson, will recognize in him perhaps the finest type which he has ever seen of a Christian artist; but still so gentle, subdued, sweet, and devout is the expression of his countenance, and the tone of his voice, that one might fear his enthusiasm and fire had been smothered under the asceticism of his life and pursuits. It soon appeared however that it was not so. He had for years desired to make a trial, and see if some discovery could not be made in that interesting spot. And now that accident had led to one, he was all eager to pursue it. After clearing a sufficient opening, the religious descended into the vault, and commenced removing the rubbish which had accumulated during centuries, or rather had fallen in at an earlier period, as I will later explain. As soon as one room was cleared out, an entrance was found into another; this was generally found to be full up to the ceiling of broken fragments of brick, stone, and mortar, which had to be removed, before the value or worthlessness of the discovery could be ascertained. And so the work proceeded, carefully and perseveringly, if not most skilfully. For with the exception of one friar, who had been a mason, there was not among

all those religious labourers one who had ever handled an instrument necessary for the work. They could not even afford a windlass to haul up the broken materials, but all was carried away by hand. Nor was it a labour unattended with danger. Portions of masonry became detached, broke and fell; and on one occasion, when the Prior was engaged in studying or copying some painting just discovered, he was suddenly called away to attend a person taken dangerously ill; he obeyed instantly, and the moment after, a huge mass from above filled the place on which he had stood.

Still the unaided work went on till February, when some experienced excavators were furnished by the Government, to whom the community at length applied for assistance; as the important results of their exertions had now become evident, and the antiquaries of Rome had ascertained the value of many of the new discoveries. About that time the Cav. John Bap. De Rossi drew up an account of these, to which I shall owe great part of the information which I have to communicate. But he has given no topographical account of the excavations; nor am I aware that any has been published. The plan which is in your hands has been lithographed expressly for this paper, from one sent me most kindly by Père Besson, who employed a French architect to draw it for me. I have merely changed the scale from metres to English feet, and translated the names.

I think my simplest course will be to guide you first through the plan, explaining each portion, following the numbers given on it, and adding remarks as I go on.

No. I. First room discovered, vaulted, paved with mosaic.

No. II. shows traces of *opus reticulatum*, possibly not later than Adrian's time, but also other work of the fourth century.

This gives a key to the history of these apartments. It is evident that they have gone through strange revolutions. They formed parts of houses, constructed in the most classical times, and were altered in shape and perhaps united into one edifice three hundred years later. Either then, or at a subsequent period, they were turned into cisterns, or it is possible into substructions for a higher and nobler edifice above the hill. This room was probably a bath, as the water-pipe yet remains at *d*.

a a, *a a*. We now come to a most interesting discovery. At the points indicated by these letters you see a break through a thick wall, the course of which is tinted on the plan. It was found that these buildings ended at a wall of primitive construction, formed, like the Cloaca Maxima and other works of the Kings, of huge blocks of tufo, though here irregular in shape. In some parts the plaster of the new buildings had been merely laid upon these large stones, without the trouble of lining. No doubt could exist that this was the enclosure wall of Servius Tullius. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us (IV. 13) that, in his time, the old walls of Tullius were in many parts so shut up in later buildings, that it was impossible, or very difficult, to trace them. And, in fact, in the present instance you will see on the plan, that the other side of the wall is equally occupied by chambers, of which it forms one side.

The discovery of the Servian wall had long been an object of eager antiquarian research. A few years ago the Jesuits discovered a portion in their vineyard on the other side of the Aventine. Now this new discovery, corresponding in every way with the former, in the proportions and character of the construction, leaves no further doubt as to the direction and extent of the enclosure at that early period. But of the two portions this is the more interesting, because it had been before proved, that the great altar and temple of Hercules were situated at the point where the walls of Servius, descending the Aventine, reached the Tiber. The course of the wall, now ascertained, determines the very point where this contact of the river and the fortification took place.

No. III. Chamber turned into a cistern.

Nos. IV. and IV'. These appear to have been a species of ante-room, or waiting-room, in the first house; the walls are covered with paintings, much effaced; but they present an object of interest much livelier than these, though not belonging to so high a department of art.

Although writing on walls is a practice peculiarly imputed to our countrymen, it is fair to excuse it, by saying that it was a very early propensity, among both heathens and Christians. Indeed I fear we must actually defend it; for we now are delighted to discover the silly or impertinent remarks of the traveller in ancient times, scrawled over old paintings, or even the strange names of utterly unknown people. And how can we tell but in eighteen hundred years more, the antiquary may be delighted to dig up the column of some villa-temple, and decipher on it, with great care,

the inscription in pencil, that "Peter Plymley and his family lunched there on such a day, and found his soda-water more refreshing than the fountains"?

Jesting however apart, the inscriptions, sometimes written or painted, but quite as often scratched into the wall, open to the antiquary a field of interesting research that is almost new. The inscriptions on Egyptian monuments, as on the statue of Memnon, are of classical celebrity; those on the walls of Pompeii have been carefully copied, and published by F. Garucci. But innumerable ones have doubtless perished, with the crumbling stucco, in the halls of the ancient Thermæ. Some indeed yet remain in those of Titus, or rather in the Golden House beneath them; but the Catacombs have given a rich harvest of these to the diligent and sagacious De Rossi.* On the walls of the Palatine, the house of Augustus, a quantity of such rude inscriptions have been found, evidently the literary productions of the first Emperor's domestics; and in the rooms which we are now describing similar inscriptions have been found, evidently emanating from the same class of writers.

The form of the letters shows the inscriptions to belong to the first half of the third century at latest; and the names themselves, with hardly an exception, are those of slaves. I have prepared copies of the lists (for such they seem) of this early establishment.

* The most important chamber yet discovered in the Cemetery of Callistus, has the wall outside its door covered with inscriptions scratched on the plaster, intimating, that this was a place greatly venerated by pilgrims. This was soon verified on its excavation, as the sepulchral stones of several Pontiffs were found within, as well as the most interesting tomb of the martyr St. Cæcilia, itself most rich in mural writing.

Several expressions in the writing are not intelligible; but I will call your attention to one part of it, which seems to present a rather amusing specimen of the piety and anger of the writer:—

VOTVM FECI
SI RECTE EXIERO
QVI ERVNT
INTRO VINI
SEXTARIOS
THEONAE
MORBVM

which we may translate, "I have vowed, if I shall get out of this all right (*recte*), as many sextaries of wine as there are here—A plague on Theonas!" An inscription worthy of Falstaff, if shut up by Poins in a cellar, when he had already drunk his fill.

No. III′. Passage paved with mosaic.

No. V. Unroofed chamber, with three different sorts of pavement.

Nos. VI., VII., VII′. Three elegant rooms, originally richly decorated.

No. VIII. Chamber, vaulted and paved with *opus reticulatum*, consequently very ancient. The floor was no doubt covered with mosaic. In the corner are the remains of a large furnace, probably for a bath, with a large earthenware pipe for the issue of the smoke, marked *d′*.

Nos. IX., X. Two small rooms, separated by a brick wall of the fourth century, surmounted by a block of travertine, under which one must creep to reach X. from IX.

No. XIII. Large chamber of the thirteenth century (probably the great hall of the palace of Pope Honorius III.), open above.

Nos. XIV., XV. Watercourses, or passages for pipes. One marked near XIV.

No. XVI. Staircase leading to the upper and principal floor.

I have thus conducted you, as well as I could, through these excavations, which at least make us acquainted with the lower or basement story of a great Roman house. No doubt the upper floor was more richly adorned with marble, mosaic, painting, and sculpture; this indeed is proved by the quantity of precious fragments found below, of every sort of objects of art. Columns of *pavonazzetto*, pilasters of *giallo*, capitals of *rosso antico*, beautifully carved cornices, marble medallions, exquisite *bassi-rilievi*, of figures crowned with vine-leaves, among which yet lingers visible the colour of their polychrome embellishment;—these, and other objects in ivory and pottery, give evidence of the destruction which has taken place overhead.

But among all these fragments there is one which has been valued higher than all the rest—a small fragment of an inscription belonging to the records o the "Arval Brothers." Every one versed in Roman antiquity knows, what a triumph of epigraphic art is the restoration to us, of the knowledge which literature seemed so jealously to have concealed from us, concerning this priestly fraternity.

Two passages in Varro and one in Pliny, and a few lines in Minucius Felix and in Fulgentius, was all that ıtiquity told us about a college of priests with which he imperial families and all the principal houses of ome were in connection, which performed the most lendid public rites, met in the palace, and were pos-

sessed of one of the most sacred spots in the neighbourhood of Rome,—the grove of the Goddess Dia (*Dea Dia*), unmentioned also in ancient mythology, but believed to be the same as Ceres. Singular it is too that when Livy, Cicero, or Pliny enumerates whole classes of soothsayers or priests, not one of them should ever allude to the existence of this tribe (Marini, Atti dei F. A. p. 16). To endeavour to account for this silence is useless, and now unnecessary. There is no body of ancient pagan priests whose offices, ceremonies, words, names, dates, we are so minutely acquainted with, as with those of the *Fratres Arvales;* and this we owe to inscriptions, and to the sagacity, learning, and perseverance of one man.

No scholar ever exhausted a subject more maturely and more satisfactorily than Monsig. Marini in his 'Atti e Monumenti dei Fratelli Arvali' (Rome, 1795). In excavating for the foundation of the new sacristy attached to St. Peter's, a number of Arval inscriptions were found, and the learned priest undertook the study of the whole subject. He collected every fragment (in copies at least), and thus produced an unrivalled collection of sixty-seven inscriptions,—some much mutilated, some very full. But one helps the other, till the complete system of this curious fraternity stands as clear before us as that of any city guild or corporation can do.

They carved their annals year by year on marble tablets; they publish at the beginning when the sacrifices will be, only leaving a blank after the word house, as it might be at that of the master or pro-master; they tell us who were present there and at the grove; who the noble boys in attendance, what dress they

wore (whether *riciniati* or *prætextati*); who the brothers present, how they crowned themselves, went to the bath, ate of the sacrifice, received sweetmeats, carried away baskets of good things crowned with flowers. Sometimes an augur tells them that a tree has fallen in the grove, when peculiar expiatory ceremonies are to be performed; sometimes they record the barbarous archaic song which followed their secret dance (tav. xli.). In fine, they have concealed nothing from us which we can care to know. But, indirectly, these Arval annals have thrown great light upon obscure and minute points of history. They contain so many names in full, with titles after them, and the names of fathers, that the history of families can be made out wonderfully from them. For the completion of the Consular Fasti the information is invaluable.

After this long preamble, you will not be surprised to hear that the discovery in the apartment No. II. of a fragment of an Arval inscription has been hailed with peculiar satisfaction. The grove of the Goddess Dia is now proved (though Marini knew it not) to have been at the fourth milestone on the Via Campana, on the road between the Via Portuensis and the Tiber, the way to La Magliana; thence these inscriptions were carried, right and left, and some found their way to the Cemetery of the Vatican, where they were discovered. But so completely had Marini done his work, that since his death, Marchese Melchiorri, who prepared an Appendix to it, published posthumously, had only been able to find one piece and one fragment additional of Arval inscriptions.

This large fragment is therefore considered quite a treasure; and though much mutilated, it has been

easily filled up by De Rossi, with the assistance of Marini's tables. Its particular value lies in this, that it clears up several obscurities in the Consular Fasti by the simple discovery in it of the prænomen of Arrius Antoninus. The learned Cav. Borghesi, who has long devoted his extraordinary classical and antiquarian learning to this part of history, has given a splendid commentary, such as few other men could now write, upon this new inscription.

One further question may be asked: to whom is it probable that the newly-discovered edifices belong? Only a conjecture can be hazarded at most, though not without some shade of probability. Two inscriptions have been found, one on a pedestal, the other on a leaden pipe, in the adjoining garden of St. Alexius,—mentioning Decius Cæcina. The inscription on the pedestal relates to the dedication of a statue to Arcadius, in the house of the Decii. The names on pipes designate either the maker or the owner, and in this case it must be the latter. I will add a further corroboration. The house on the Aventine seems to be composed of several houses of much older period, thrown into one about the fourth century, the very period when we know from Cassiodorus that the enormous wealth and power of this family was at its height.

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